

**LABOR CHALLENGE – 1948 – articles by Ross Dowson** (pseudonyms: Paul Kane, Jean LaPlante, Charles Kent), and all editorial articles

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- 04\_15<sup>th</sup>-1 **(55)** 'Vote right – or else' is threat of Wall Street to Italian workers, by Charles Kent (Truman heightens hostilities toward Soviet Union)
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- 05\_15<sup>th</sup>-1c (continuation) Vote for CCF victory is labor election slogan
- 05\_15<sup>th</sup>-2 4<sup>th</sup> International holds World Congress in Paris (special to LC)
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- 05\_15<sup>th</sup>-4 RWP branches honor May Day by militant rallies (in Toronto and Vancouver but closed down by Padlock Law in Quebec)
- 05\_15<sup>th</sup>-5 Stormy convention due for British Labor Party, by Charles Kent (as Atlee government announces wage-freeze policy)
- 05\_15<sup>th</sup>-6 (Editorials) 4<sup>th</sup> International Congress; Rally behind the seamen (CSU branded "communist"); column "The Fight against Cancer" by Mary Wood quotes Health Minister Paul Martin
- 06\_01<sup>st</sup>-1 **(58)** Unions support CCF in important (provincial) elections (editorial article)
- 06\_01<sup>st</sup>-2 Trotskyists in Peru persecuted by govt (special to **LC**); (US) SWP (presidential) candidate Dobbs speaks on NBC network
- 06\_01<sup>st</sup>-3 (Editorials) Too hot to handle (the butter ban on margarine); Wage drive bogs (labor brass' failure shows their policies bankrupt)
- 06\_01<sup>st</sup>-4 LPP (Canadian Stalinists) jumps on Zionist bandwagon; Tragedy of Palestine, by Paul Kane
- 06\_15<sup>th</sup>-1a **(59)** Labor rolls up victory for CCF (editorial article by David Williams)
- 06\_15<sup>th</sup>-1b (continuation) victory for 22 CCF candidates

- 06\_15<sup>th</sup>-2a (Editorials) For a united labor conference (to counter bosses' onslaught against unions)
- 06\_15<sup>th</sup>-2b Open the doors (the plight of European refugees)
- 06\_15<sup>th</sup>-3 The indomitable spirit of German Trotskyists, by Paul Stevens (underground paper report)
- 07\_01<sup>st</sup>-1 **(60)** LPPers: examine the Tito affair, by Paul Kane (Stalinists must face up to fact of Stalin-Tito rupture)
- 07\_01<sup>st</sup>-2 Few labor candidates in Quebec election (under repressive Duplessis regime)
- 07\_01<sup>st</sup>-3a 4<sup>th</sup> International world manifesto; "Against Wall Street and the Kremlin! For the Program of the 'Communist Manifesto'! For the world socialist revolution!" (*Manifesto of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the FI to the exploited masses of the world*)
- 07\_01<sup>st</sup>-3b (continuation) Note to (LC) readers; Totalitarian nature of capitalism
- 07\_01<sup>st</sup>-3c (continuation) Organization of bloody chaos; Perspectives of American revolution
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- 07\_01<sup>st</sup>-3g (continuation) Defend the colonial revolution
- 08\_01<sup>st</sup>-1 **(61)** (US) SWP nominates Dobbs-Carlson
- 08\_01<sup>st</sup>-2 (Manitoba) CCF assails Marshall Plan, by Paul Kane (clashes head-on with Coldwell leadership)
- 08\_01<sup>st</sup>-3a (Part 2) 4<sup>th</sup> International world manifesto (issued by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the FI); Wall Street in Latin America; The workers and capitalists
- 08\_01<sup>st</sup>-3b (continuation) "The Third Force"; "The New Democracy"
- 08\_01<sup>st</sup>-3c (continuation) The Stalinist traitors; The crisis of (proletarian) leadership
- 08\_01<sup>st</sup>-3d (continuation) A world movement and an international leadership; The struggle for the Transitional Program; For workers control
- 08\_01<sup>st</sup>-3e (continuation) Unity of the laboring masses; For the proletarian state; The trade union bureaucracy and the State
- 08\_01<sup>st</sup>-3f (continuation) Worker's United Front needed; For the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy; For the defense of the October conquests (of the Russian Revolution) against imperialism

- 08\_01<sup>st</sup>-3g (continuation) Congress of the Fourth International; The program of the communist future
- 08\_01<sup>st</sup>-3h (continuation) Our victory is assured; Under the banner of the Fourth International
- 09\_01<sup>st</sup>-1a **(62)** CCF base shifts to labor, unions must assert control, by Paul Kane
- 09\_01<sup>st</sup>-1b (continuation) Electoral base shifts, trade unions must determine its policies
- 09\_01<sup>st</sup>-2 Minneapolis CIO asks rights of 18 restored (SWP and Local 544 leaders jailed under Smith Act; Stalinists dissent)
- 09\_01<sup>st</sup>-3 (Editorials) Open the books; To our readers (**LC** forced back to a monthly)
- 09\_01<sup>st</sup>-4 An Open Letter to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, from the IS of the FI
- 09\_01<sup>st</sup>-5 Boosting the Challenge; RWP in action (circulation drive of **Labor Challenge**)
- 10\_01<sup>st</sup>-1a **(63)** \$15,000 goal set in drive for **Labor Challenge** fund
- 10\_01<sup>st</sup>-1b (continuation) Laura Grey cartoon
- 10\_01<sup>st</sup>-2 Jailed 2 years, Indonesian Tan Malaka reported free, by Joseph Hansen (SWP)
- 10\_01<sup>st</sup>-3a (Second Open) Letter to Yugoslav Communist Party
- 10\_01<sup>st</sup>-3b (continuation, signed) Int. Secretariat of the Fourth International
- 10\_01<sup>st</sup>-4 (Editorials) An injury to all (US border closed to union delegates); The Russian emigrés (fleeing from Kremlin gangsters)
- 11\_01<sup>st</sup>-1a **(64)** IWA (BC lumberworkers) routs Stalinists; way open to new gains, by Paul Kane
- 11\_01<sup>st</sup>-1b (continuation) Dangers in situation (**LC** advises against any boss collaboration)
- 11\_01<sup>st</sup>-2 RWP opens Vancouver Hqtrs; Dowson addresses Coast meeting
- 11\_01<sup>st</sup>-3 Hail election campaign of U.S. Trotskyists; U.S. immigration bars Ross Dowson
- 11\_01<sup>st</sup>-4 (Editorials) Force and violence (British capitalist and DeGaulle defend right to physically attack labor governments); Three years of UN (capitalist governments ignore UN, but not CCF)
- 11\_01<sup>st</sup>-5 Revolutionists' 2-day conference held in Germany; Highest recorded vote in Madras cast for BLPI (India)
- 11\_01<sup>st</sup>-6 Nov. 30 is deadline—all out now to put \$1500 fund drive over the top!



- 11\_01<sup>st</sup>-7 4<sup>th</sup> International calls on workers to prevent De Gaullist dictatorship
- 12\_01<sup>st</sup>-1a **(65)** RWP enters Toronto elections; Runs Ross Dowson for Mayoralty on fighting program for workers; Labor Challenge drive for \$1500 goes over the top
- 12\_01<sup>st</sup>-1b (continuation) Ad: Hear Ross Dowson speak
- 12\_01<sup>st</sup>-2 (Editorials) Attlee and steel (British LP nationalizes key industry under old management); Let the people speak (on the drive toward committing Canada to another war)
- 12\_01<sup>st</sup>-3 (An Open Letter) To former leaders of Quebec LPP (Stalinist party), from Quebec Trotskyists of La Ligue pour la paix et la démocratie (advice and welcome to dissidents)
- 12\_01<sup>st</sup>-4 Column: International Comment (Trotskyism in Peru and Albania)

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- 09\_01-1b (continuation) Electoral base shifts, trade unions must determine its policies



# 15,423 VOTES FOR RWP CANDIDATE

## Your Stake in China

### An Editorial

We salute the Vancouver workers who struck a blow against the war plans of Ottawa and the crimes of Chiang Kai-shek. Despite the vicious opposition of the trade union bureaucracy and the perfidious role of the CCF, they proved how powerful and how effective such a protest can become, and set an example of which all Canadian labor can be proud.

To defend the Chinese masses against butchery by Chiang Kai-shek is not only to strike a blow against colonial oppression, and thereby to uphold the principle of the universal brotherhood of man, it is, very directly and immediately, to fight for the interests of the Canadian workers as well.

The Bay Street moguls work and in hand with Wall Street, to convert China into a base for World War III. They also look upon China as a fertile field in which to secure new markets and to export capital goods produced by Canadian workers. Thus they have a two-fold goal in mind when they whip arms to Chiang Kai-shek: The first to convert China into a bastion of imperialism for the coming war against the Soviet Union. U.S. and Canadian capitalism need China for the land, air and sea bases this large and strategically located country will afford. They look with greedy eyes at the millions of Chinese workers and peasants who, once under their control, would provide them with an unlimited supply of cannon fodder in the bloody battles of World War III. These factors, plus the supply of militarily strategic raw materials which the red earth of China contains, make China a number one pawn in the international chess game of power politics currently being played by the big capitalist powers.

The second factor which is forced



## Workers Halt China Arms Ship; Leaders, CCF Sabotage Action

VANCOUVER, Jan. 5.—An inspiring demonstration of solidarity with the Chinese masses forced the King Government to cancel the charter of the SS Colima which was being loaded here with arms for the bloody Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship.

For over a fortnight Vancouver workers thwarted the designs of the King government to send arms and munitions totalling \$1,200,000 to the butcher Chiang Kai-shek for the maintenance of his corrupt regime. As the movement gained in popularity, the government was forced to cancel the loading permit of the Colima and Chiang himself had to beg Ottawa to veil all

a military base for the capitalist assault on the USSR.

The Colima was met at the Bantyne pier on Dec. 18 by a solid line of pickets. She was then rushed to drydock for "repairs" which the Bolshermakers Union refused to undertake. The Vancouver Labor Council wired the govern-

ment "to desist forthwith from such completely unwarranted activities." Vice-president McAuslane joined in the vicious campaign to label the demonstration "the work of reds."

Equally contemptible was the part played by the CCF leadership. When the Colima docked,

## 11% for Dowson in Toronto Mayoralty; Clairmont 4,593 for Board of Control

By PAUL KANE

TORONTO, Jan. 3.—Final returns just released by the City Clerk reveal that the Trotskyist candidates, alone of all the labor candidates, made big gains in the Jan. 1 elections. Ross Dowson, Revolutionary Workers Party candidate for Mayor polled 15,423 votes or over 11 per cent of the

## Windsor Bosses Demand Canadian Taft-Hartley Bill

By C. DONALD  
(Special to Labor Challenge)

WINDSOR—The Windsor Chamber of Commerce, which has been enviously looking at the union-busting Taft-Hartley Law passed by Wall Street stooges, has now produced a copy of it for Canadian consumption.

At a recent session, it proposed a 12-point "labor code" designed to cripple and eventually to annihilate the trade union movement.

These 12 points of legal cyanide show up as follows under analysis:

- 1) The closed shop would be labeled an offense against the government, and would be forbidden. Lesser forms of union security, including the check-off and maintenance of membership clauses, would be subject to negotiation.
- 2) The government would directly intervene in votes held for certification of any union as a bargaining agent. The vote would be supervised by an official of the government, which is in reality the direct agent of Big Business.
- 3) Certification votes would be held on company premises, to make it easier for the corporations to resort to intimidation and coercion to defeat the union.
- 4) It would prohibit foremen and supervisors from organizing in locals and associations.
- 5) Nation-wide bargaining would be barred. Collective bargaining would be restricted to a single-plant basis, thus making industry-wide action by labor impossible. The

total vote cast. Harry Clairmont, RWP candidate for the four man Board of Control polled 4,593 votes or slightly more

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polled 4,957 votes or slightly more than 5½ per cent of the highest vote cast for any Board of Control candidate.

In the last week of the campaign Bay Street and its political stooges launched the most vicious red-baiting drive that this city has ever witnessed. In Ward 5, a concentrated working class area, the boss candidates ran on a straight anti-communist ticket.

Mayor Saunders, speaking in support of the incumbent Board of Control, all of whom were re-elected, lashed out against his opponents "as godless men, unfit to administer the affairs of this city."

With the red-baiting campaign the capitalists hoped to cover up their crimes against the working people, to defeat the re-election bid of Stalinist Stewart Smith for Board of Control, and to deal a blow at the candidates of the RWP and CCF.

Utilizing the city administration which they have controlled for decades, the Tories threw all their forces behind a get-out-the-vote drive. They hoped to maintain their control and to drive out the Stalinists already on the Council through an increased vote based on the reactionary property qualifications which limit the franchise to a mere 367,000.

Almost 39 per cent of the electorate used their ballots, a 9 per cent increase over last year. But the red-baiting drive was a fizzle. While Stalinist Stewart Smith was decisively defeated, he polled 49,319 votes or 7,087 more than last year. Several Stalinist candidates were defeated but their two aldermen in Ward 4 and 5 were both returned on a substantially increased vote.

This year once again the CCF

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took a beating. Running a mere 10 candidates for the 41 seats up for election, they won one seat on the Board of Education. On the whole their vote dropped despite the increased poll.

Capitulating before the capitalist fostered lie that municipal politics are non-partisan, none of the Stalinist Labor Progressives and few of the CCF candidates ran with party designation.

Both limited their campaign to the plugging for a few very minor reforms and for "good government." Both failed to challenge the Tory administration for the most important posts. Although their candidates were endorsed in their majority by the AFL and CCL-CIO labor councils, neither the CCF nor LPP issued any serious challenge to the capitalist stranglehold on the second biggest city in Canada. There is no question that all these factors account for the general lack of interest in the elections on the part of the workers.

Only the two candidates of the RWP conducted a serious even though necessarily limited campaign against the capitalist political machines. Only the RWP advanced a fighting and realistic program on housing, prices, taxes and the other vital issues confronting the workers (see program published in Mid-Dec. issue). The Trotskyists ran on a party designation under the proud banner of the Fourth International.

Both RWP candidates received the endorsement of the Massey Harris local of the UAW, biggest local in the Toronto area. Dowson was also endorsed by Local 252 of the Auto Workers Union.

At the Toronto District Trades and Labor Council (American Federation of Labor) Stalinist and CCF members of the executive united in a conspiracy to keep the RWP appeal for endorsement from the rank and file. The Council endorsed Tory Mayor Saunders upon executive recommendations.

At the Toronto Labor Council (CCL-CIO) the Stalinists and leading CCFers united to defeat a sizeable minority that fought to have the RWP candidate endorsed. President Murray Cotterill took advantage of a technicality that neither Dowson or Clairmont had

held office before, to beat down his militant opposition.

In an attempt to slide into office with Saunders, Stewart Smith, a national leader of the Stalinist LPP, openly proclaimed on several occasions his complete support of the Tory Mayor "as the best Mayor the city has had." At a public meeting he cringingly stated that in his opinion municipal politics are not and should not be partisan. According to the Stalinists, the Tory Board of Control did not need a purging, all it needed was to be "revitalized" by the person of

Stewart Smith. Smith remained silent about Clairmont, who was running parallel to him, but his whole campaign was for a plump vote.

But all the Stalinists' belly-crawling before the Tory machine, came to naught. Saunders rewarded them with the red-baiting campaign which was directed mainly against Smith.



CLAIRMONT

Both RWP candidates gave the working class answer to red-baiting, and advanced the party program at dozens of electors' meetings across the city.

Early in the campaign the police attempted to intimidate party workers by seizing two workers who had been distributing election material in front of a political rally. They were held for twenty minutes and their literature confiscated. The police returned the literature only after sharp protests by party spokesmen.

Over 35,000 copies of the party's election manifesto along with an additional 3,000 copies of Labor Challenge and a special leaflet on the city council's vicious anti-union record, were distributed at factory gates and from door to door in working class areas.

On voting day two Stalinist electioneers threatened RWP candidate Clairmont that they would "fix" him. Clairmont had protested their electioneering for Smith only and not the labor slate which in that Ward included the RWP candidates and a CCFer running for Alderman. Shortly after this incident, Clairmont was attacked on the street by a hoodlum who smashed him in the face and broke his glasses. Here was Smith's order made at the Bathurst Street Forum that "the Trotskyites have no place in the labor movement," carried out in action.

Saunders in his first post-election speech protested that he was "confident that there are not 15,000 Trotskyists in the city of Toronto." He attempted to explain away the large RWP vote as the grudge vote of a few hundred restaurant owners whose premises he had closed down for election purposes and unsanitary conditions.

But such apologetics are meant only for the record. Last year the RWP candidate for Mayor, Murray Dowson, polled 3,201 votes or 3 per cent of the total poll. This year the RWP polled 15,423 or over 11 per cent of the vote.

The RWP vote was a vote cast by the packinghouse workers and pressmen whose strikes the council tried to smash; it was a vote cast by the advanced workers of Toronto who want a fighting anti-capitalist program; a vote cast by rank and file militants in the CCF and LPP, who despite the orders of their perfidious leaders, honestly and seriously believe in political action by labor.

Above all it signifies the potentialities and power of the program of Trotskyism. The task now is to capitalize on this significant support and build the party of the socialist revolution.



DOWSON

# LABOR CHALLENGE

(52) Mid-January 1948

## Militants in France Seek Revolutionary Unity

The movement for a regroupment of revolutionary forces is growing in France, impelled by the rising threat of de Gaulism and the bankruptcy of the Socialist and Communist Parties. The Parti Communiste Internationaliste, French section of the 4th International, is playing an important role in the movement for a mass revolutionary party which can rally and lead the French workers in the struggle for socialism.

On Dec. 21, the Plenum of the Central committee of the PCI adopted a resolution on revolutionary unity. It greeted the Revolutionary Socialist Action group which recently split from the Socialist Party (SFIO) and the Socialist Youth expelled for their revolutionary opposition to the Socialist Party line some months ago.

"It (the PCI) also considers desirable," the resolution declares, "that after a thorough-going discussion and political clarification, the three organizations participate in the construction of a united revolutionary party."

"Consequently, the Central Committee decides to follow up systematically the campaign for revolutionary unity, attempting to associate in it the greatest possible number of revolutionary militants coming from other sources, in the first place those breaking with Stalinism."

"The Central Committee takes cognizance of the desire for a revolutionary united front expressed both by the Revolutionary Socialist Action and the Socialist Youth. It decides to organize such a united front in its practical details, above

all in the trade union field and in the factories, with the aim of strengthening and broadening the revolutionary trade union tendency 'Front Ouvrier', and to propose to the RSA and the SY the holding of regional conferences for the establishment of this united front and for the conduct of a joint campaign for trade union unity."

### YOUTH PARTICIPATE

The Central Committee also recommended to the Jeunesse Communiste Internationaliste (the youth section of the PCI) that it participate as actively and rapidly as possible in the regroupment of the revolutionary youth, as a first step on the road toward regroupment into a united revolutionary party.

The National Committee of the Socialist Youth, at a meeting on Dec. 13-14, declared that "discussions and actions undertaken with the PCI have demonstrated that, despite some differences, fundamental agreement on the revolutionary program exists between our two organizations. Consequently, no serious obstacle can arise to the building of a revolutionary party uniting the Socialist Youth and the PCI."

The thousands of Socialist Youth were expelled by the adult organization last spring, after they denounced the Socialist Party's role in the capitalist government, with all the ensuing crimes against the French workers and the Indo-Chinese masses who are fighting for freedom from French imperialism. Since that time, the Youth have moved steadily to the left, and clarified their revolutionary program.

The Revolutionary Socialist Action group, which had constituted a left wing at the last Socialist Party Congress, voted at a special conference on Dec. 7 to break from the Socialist Party.

In a unanimously adopted reso-

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## Militants in France Seek Revolutionary Unity

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lution, the RSA points out that the SP executive committee "have continued and even aggravated the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie." It scores the collusion between the Socialist and de Gaulist candidates, and the participation of the SP "in the Schuman government which represents a coalition of all the forces of reaction."

It lashes the SP for its strike-breaking role in the recent upsurge, and for "participating in the vote in Parliament for criminal laws directed against trade union liberties and the right to strike."

In view of these facts, the RSA decided to "break all relations with the SP," and it called upon "all militants who remain loyal to socialist doctrine to join its ranks."

### RSA PROGRAM

It declares that the recent experiences reveal "the absence of a revolutionary leadership of the workers' movements" and therefore they aim to create a new

party based upon the following principles:

No class collaboration; proletarian internationalism; support to the liberation struggles of all oppressed peoples, particularly colonial peoples; peace through the efforts of the workers to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism on an international scale; the creation of a genuine workers' international.

For immediate purposes, it calls upon "all organizations and militants who agree with one or several points of the program to join in unity of action."

All the worker-militants disgusted with the bankrupt policies of Stalinism and the Social Democracy will find their place side by side the heroic fighters who compose the PCI. They must organize around the stainless program of the Fourth International. Present developments give hopeful evidence that this new mass revolutionary party can be built in time to play a decisive role in the important events shaping up in France.

## Notice to All Readers

We regret that, due to circumstances beyond our control, we were compelled to skip the January issue of Labor Challenge. All subscribers will receive their full number of issues.

— The Editors.



02-15-1

## LPP Changes Its Line, Throws Support to CCF

By ROSS DOWSON

A passive audience of about 1,700 gathered in Toronto's Massey Hall on Jan. 22 to hear the national leader of the Stalinist Labor Progressive Party, Tim Buck deliver a speech "of national importance."

Buck took the platform to call upon the workers to "elect a CCF government and defeat the old line parties." There was a general lack of enthusiasm. But the change of line bureaucratically handed down by the National Committee to this audience—basically party membership—was indeed of vital importance to the workers of Canada.

A few days previously the Stalinist leadership of the United Electrical Workers Union (CCL), had come out with the "unite at the polls with the CCF" line. Only last October at the CCL Convention the UE leadership had fought hammer and tongs against endorsement of the CCF.

The Tribune, Jan. 24, reported that the Stalinist front National Federation of Labor Youth will hold a convention. Top point of the agenda will be the transformation of the NFLY into the 1948 ver-

sion of the Young Communist League.

The latest turn in a long history of unprincipled zig-zags by Canadian Stalinism represents a modest but none-the-less "left" turn. It marks a sharp break from the special brand of political poison that the Stalinists have peddled in the labor movement since they christened themselves the Labor Progressive Party four years ago.

At that time Buck told the workers that "The conditions which would make possible a socialist transformation of Canadian economy are not present. Therefore raising the issue of socialism has only a divisive effect."

Today Buck admits that "Canada is technically ripe for Socialism." Today the LPP, which all during the latter part of the war and right up until last month advocated a Liberal-Labor Coalition, calls for a

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## LPP Changes Its Line, Throws Support to CCF

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break with the King Liberal Party. With false indignation Buck screamed that the King government "has betrayed its promises" and like the Tory Party is "the hired spokesman of monopoly."

When did the LPP, that so viciously attacked the timid CCF leadership in 1945 for saying that "there is no difference between the Liberals and Tories, make this ABC discovery? Buck realized this fateful fact following a speech made by King in the second week of January, 1948, "which marked the change in government policy. Then the Stalinist LPP and the capitalist Liberal Party parted company.

The parting of the ways was indeed a very painful one for the LPP bureaucrats. The one-sided working partnership had been carried out enthusiastically by the LPP. They took King's wage freeze and no-strike pledge into the unions. They spearheaded the drive for the yes vote on the conscription plebiscite. In the 1945 Provincial and Federal elections they ran candidates on behalf of their phony Liberal-Labor Coalition in every riding where the CCF had a sitting member.

What caused the LPP to break up their idyllic partnership with this "junior partner of the Wall Street billionaires" and come out for the CCF? The whole responsibility is King's, yells Buck.

What was the substance of King's speech that roused the deep hatred of his former bed-mates? King drew the balance sheet of the post-war world as seen through the eyes of Canadian capitalism, whose loyal servant he has been for half a century. He made a vicious attack on the USSR and declared his full support of Wall Street's imperialist plans for world domination.

Not this speech but the situation that it reflects was the determining factor in the LPP's break from the Liberal Party. The struggle between Wall Street and the Kremlin bureaucracy has been steadily sharpening. All Stalin's cynical diplomatic tricks and maneuvers have failed to hold back Wall Street's war drive. The releasing of the brakes by the Communist Parties from the French and Italian working class failed to halt it. The Kremlin which has brought the Soviet Union to the brink of disaster is getting desperate. Stalin needs to reinforce his hand and the only cards he has left are his faithful lackeys like Buck.

Stalin hopes to use the threat of a left turn by the various Stalinist

parties to stave off Wall Street's pressure. The cynical leadership of the LPP are answering the helm. The LPP "left turn" coincides with a bellicose attack by the British Communist Party on the Labor Party. The French C.P. has launched a campaign against the Blum Socialist Party which along with the Attlee government, supports the Marshall Plan. In the U.S. the Stalinists are all out behind Wallace in an attempt to soften Wall Street's anti-Soviet drive.

In Canada, however, the LPP, after breaking with King, has turned to the CCF. But does the CCF offer any opportunities for the building of a Stalinist "Peace Front"? Coldwell and the entire leadership of the CCF are one hundred per cent behind the Marshall Plan. Many of the CCF M.P.'s are critical of the King Government's war preparations, but from the point of view that they are much too inadequate. But while the CCF supports the Marshall Plan it is more solidly lined up behind the British bloc, which is a Wall Street camp follower, but has interests of its own to protect.

The present policy is dictated by the frantic hope that these minor differences between British imperialism and Wall Street can be profitably exploited to improve Stalin's position.

Another and no doubt important factor in the "left turn" is the de-vitalizing effect that the past years of class collaboration have had on the LPP ranks. Thousands of workers who thought that the LPP was the party of the Russian Revolution have been unable to stomach the King line and have dropped away. Under the pressure of the 1945-46 wave of militancy that swept through the unions, others have been clamoring for a more radical policy.

But for all its radical phraseology, the new line remains completely devoid of socialist principle. It has no relationship whatsoever to the needs of the Canadian or world working class. On the vital question of the struggle against war, the LPP continues with full support of the thieves' kitchen, the United Nations organization.

Permeated with super-nationalism, chauvinistic to the core the new LPP program can only lead to more betrayals and new defeats.

## LABOR CHALLENGE

A twice-monthly paper bringing the truth about labor's struggle for socialism to the working people of Canada.

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Editor, ROSS DOWSON

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In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organization. Divided by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by slave labor for capital . . . the proletariat can become and will inevitably become, an invincible force only when its ideological unity around the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organization, which unites millions of toilers in the army of the working class.

V. I. Lenin.

### Let's Have the Whole Truth

When the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky took power in Russia, it published the secret treaties and deals between the Czarist regime and the Allied Powers. For the first time, the greed, rapacity and duplicity of the imperialists was laid bare with irrefutable documentary evidence.

It would seem that the U.S. State Department has now taken a leaf from the Bolshevik book. But whereas Lenin and Trotsky exposed the secret diplomacy of the Czarist government of their own country, Washington publishes only those documents bearing on the crimes of the government of another country.

The American government has not suddenly become addicted to truth and the practice of open covenants openly arrived at. It merely finds the publication of secret documents exposing Stalin's dealing with Hitler of particular advantage at this time to U.S. imperialism. They are useful as part of the propaganda preparation for the contemplated atomic war against the Soviet Union.

But why does the U.S. State Department cull from the more than two million captured Nazi documents only the few that remind us of Stalin's crimes? Why, for instance, does it not give us the documents relating to the Munich Pact of 1938? Is it a "military secret," perhaps? Or does the State Department fear to shed light on the filthy deals between the Allied imperialists and Hitler?

We'd like to know what Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin really cooked up at Teheran and Yalta. What King, Churchill and Roosevelt plotted at Quebec. Let Truman—who is so

loath to tell damaging truths about another government—publish the minutes of the secret conferences between Roosevelt, Attlee and Stalin at Potsdam. The Canadian people—the people of the whole world—are entitled to know the full facts about the secret deals between the Allied imperialists and the Kremlin to divide up the world into "spheres of influence" and to dismember Germany.

Let's have the WHOLE TRUTH about secret diplomacy. Let's have ALL the documents, ALL the secret treaties.

And, first of all, those that disclose the dirty connivance, horse-trades and grabs schemed by our own imperialist diplomats and statesmen.

### The Symbolic Death of Gandhi

The death of Gandhi at the hands of an assassin brings into sharp focus the problem of India as well as his life and works. The whole bourgeois world and its Social-Democratic camp followers mourn his death. And well they may, for he served their cause well. They realize, moreover, that his death marks the end of a period for the Indian masses—a period when their struggle for freedom had been distorted and chained by the "mystic" pacifism he symbolized.

Though he espoused a policy of "non-violence" and "civil disobedience," Gandhi on many occasions in his 73 years supported and actively participated in the use of force by British imperialism. He supported Britain in the Boer War. In 1908 he participated in the bloody suppression of a native revolt in Natal, Africa. During World War I, though the Indian Nationalist movement counselled its followers to be pacifists, Gandhi was active in support of the allies, recruiting troops in the Kaira district.

From World War I to his death his strategy as a representative of the Indian bourgeoisie was one of using the masses to pressure British imperialism. The Indian capitalists wanted national independence and needed the support of the Indian people. They realized, however, that the suppressed masses would not stop at "their" kind of India, but would continue on the road to a socialist revolution. Gandhi provided an alternative; "non-violence" and his personal fasts as a means of blackmailing concessions from Britain.

His last disservice to the Indian masses was his role in the partition of India. Lord Mountbatten described him as the "architect" of this plan, which resulted in the current fratricidal warfare.

The past decade of struggle has seen Gandhi's hold over the masses wane. He admitted, shortly before his death, "The time was when whatever I said the masses followed. Now I am a lone voice."

It killed Gandhi. This is historic justice, in that his policies have driven some of the most disastrous policy. His death symbolizes the old era and the dawn of a new era of

02-15-2

TORONTO  
**Sunday Evening  
Forums**  
FEBRUARY 15  
**The CCF and the Future**  
FEBRUARY 29  
**The LPP Change of Line**  
87 King St. W. - Room 5



# 100th ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

By JAMES MARTIN

In February, 1848, the history of Marxism began with the publication of the Communist Manifesto. Today, one hundred years after its first appearance, the manifesto remains the most remarkable document of all time. Its young authors (Marx was 29, Engels 27) were able to look farther into the future than anyone before them and perhaps than anyone since them.

The basic ideas of the Manifesto still stand as the only foundation of the working class movement and the mightiest weapons in the struggle for socialism. The words of the Manifesto might have been written yesterday.

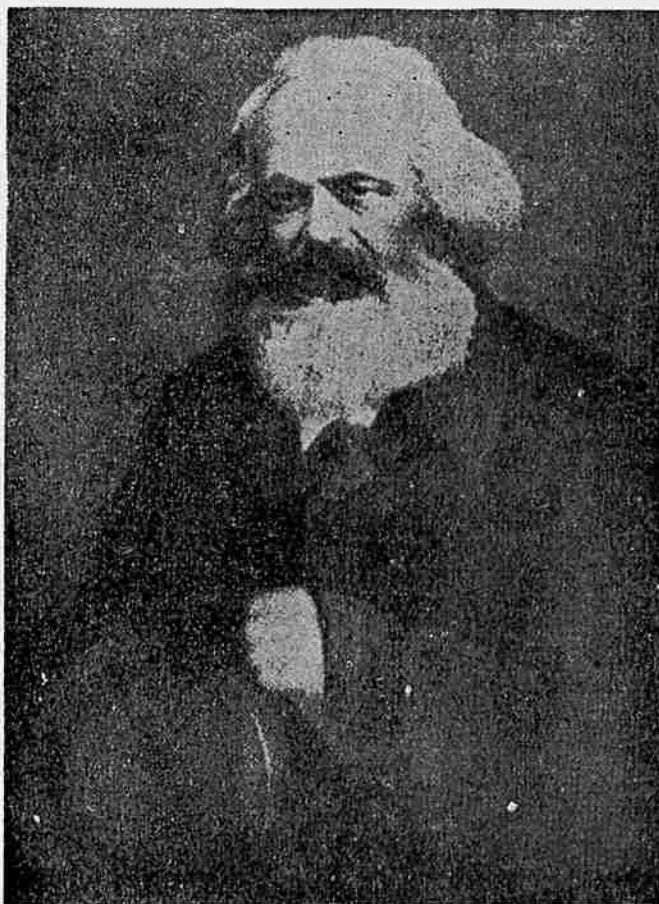
The present epoch of the final breakdown of capitalism with its grim perspective of depression and atomic destruction has not outdated the ideas of the Manifesto but instead has made them more vital and urgent. A century of history has proved them correct time and again.

Not only did Marx and Engels discover historical materialism, but they used this scientific method with such skill that they were able to sketch out in bold strokes the motive forces of history—the class struggle, the laws of capitalism and its place in history, the growth of the modern working class and its historic mission to destroy the outlived capitalist system and replace it with the new socialist society which would at the same time spell the end of all class exploitation and antagonism.

As Trotsky said, "We can state with certainty that it is impossible in our time not only to be a revolutionary militant but even a literate observer in politics without assimilating the materialist interpretation of history."

Using this method, Marx and Engels were able one hundred years ago, to write an analysis of capitalism, which in its broadest sense, accurately describes the situation today.

"Society finds itself put back in a state of barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence. . . . Modern bourgeois society is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. It is enough to mention the crises that by their periodical return put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on trial, each time more threateningly. . . . And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by the enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other by the conquest of new markets



Karl Marx

and by the more thorough exploitation of the old. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented."

The last thirty years have proved this to the hilt. Capitalism, in its death agonies, has produced nothing but two imperialist wars, depression, and almost universal hunger and starvation.

Today the United States, the most powerful of the capitalist powers, can find no other solution to its crisis than intensified exploitation of the workers at home and abroad and preparations for a third and more murderous imperialist war. The growing impoverishment of the workers foreseen in the Manifesto, is proceeding at an ever faster pace today as prices rise in leaps and bounds and living standards fall.

The working class program outlined in the Manifesto has been

proven no less correct. The Manifesto begins "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of the class struggle" and goes on "every class struggle is a political struggle. The organization of the proletariat as a class is consequently its organization into a political party."

In issuing a call for independent working class political action, Marx and Engels gave a sharp analysis of class collaboration and the policy of supporting "liberal" capitalist politicians. "Every victory so obtained," they said, "is a victory for the bourgeoisie."

Describing the executive of the modern state as "a committee for managing the common affairs of the bourgeoisie," Marx and Engels pointed out the necessity for the seizure of power by the workers and the impossibility of attaining power within the legal framework established by the bourgeoisie.

The class struggle is the cardinal point in the Manifesto and the only foundation for revolutionary action. The truth of this has been demonstrated over and over again.

The only victorious proletarian

revolution, in Russia in 1917, was won by the workers on the basis of unrelenting class struggle. On the other hand, the long series of defeats suffered by the workers under the leadership of the Social Democrats and the Stalinists stemmed from the betrayal of the class struggle and the principles of the Communist Manifesto by those parties.

The class collaborationist Popular Front led directly to the outbreak of the second imperialist war. Today in Europe, the Stalinists participate in capitalist governments and act as props of the bankrupt capitalist system. By their policies they are opening the road for reactionary and fascist movements such as DeGaulism in France.

## INTERNATIONALIST POLICY

"The workingmen have no fatherland," says the Manifesto, and "United Action of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat."

The subsequent development of capitalism has so closely knit all sections of the world, both "civilized" and "uncivilized" that the problem of the socialist revolution has completely and decisively assumed a world character. The Soviet bureaucracy attempted to liquidate the manifesto with respect to this fundamental question. The degeneration of the Soviet State its isolation and danger at the hands of imperialism, demonstrate the disastrous results of chauvinism and the repudiation of workers' internationalism.

Socialism did not triumph as quickly as Marx and Engels hoped when they wrote the manifesto. They could not foresee the degeneration of the workers' parties. The treachery first of the Social Democrats, later of the Stalinists, has prolonged the life of capitalism far beyond the point where it was rotten ripe for overthrow.

## MANIFESTO OURS

Ten years ago, Trotsky wrote, "When the centennial of the Communist Manifesto is celebrated, the Fourth International will have become the decisive revolutionary force on our planet." Today, the Fourth International is the only revolutionary force, precisely because it is firmly founded on the ideas of the Communist Manifesto, enriched by the experience of one hundred years and by the contributions of the greatest Marxist thinkers—Lenin and Trotsky.

The aim of the Fourth International is the same as the Manifesto.

"In place of the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

02-15-3

## Boosting the 'Challenge'

A few weeks ago we received an urgent letter from a Quebec reader. He asked us to keep sending him the paper: "I know that I am late in paying for my subscription but since July I have been having tough luck. That's why you won't get paid before February 15th." Of course we are still sending him the paper. We and those friends who help to make this paper a financial possibility are as interested in spreading the message of international socialism as he is in receiving it.

Our Québec friend is one of hundreds of you whose subs have expired or are up for expiration. If the number on your address slip is 53 or under then your subscription has expired. Renew it at once and keep Labor Challenge coming to your door.

A considerable number of renewals have been arriving through the mails. They have been coming all the way from as far south as Milwaukee, U.S.A., to as far north as Lloydminster, Sask.; from Vancouver Island lumber camps to Montreal. A reader in Blind Bay, B.C., sent us a two-year renewal. A Welland Ontario reader enclosed with his renewal a 6-month sub for a friend whom he would like to have receive the paper. A Newton, B.C. reader at the same

time as he renewed his sub enclosed a donation to help the paper over the financial hump.

Various branches and individual comrades across the country are attempting to call on as many as possible of those readers who, through oversight or neglect, have let their subs run. The first batch in from Vancouver included 4 one-year renewals and 4 six-month renewals. Byron Johnson at Milnes Landing has forwarded a six-month renewal and 4 one-year renewals. Comrade Johnson reports that one of the chaps asked him about the sub as soon as he saw him and readily renewed.

Toronto comrades armed with expiration lists have been holding renewal rallies on the week-ends. So far they have turned in 34 renewals. Almost half of them are for one year. Barry Brent informs us that several of the workers who renewed their subs were extremely friendly and the comrades intend to drop back to see them to talk about our party when the renewal work is wound up.

We are sure that the comrades and friends who have volunteered to do this work in sub-zero weather appreciate the actions of those readers who their renewal via the mail.

**53**

02-15-4

If the number on your paper is the same or less than shown above, your subscription has expired. renew at once.



## Trotskyists Name Candidate for U.S. Presidency

NEW YORK. — For the first time since the days of Eugene V. Debs and the pioneer Communist movement, Wall Street's candidates will be opposed in a presidential election by a working class slate standing squarely on the program of revolutionary socialism.

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party at its Feb. 21-23 sessions, named Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson as the Trotskyist candidates in the November elections.

Presidential candidate Farrell Dobbs, who is editor of the weekly *Militant*, played a leading role in the great Minneapolis Teamsters' strike of 1934, the strike that made Minneapolis a union stronghold.

Grace Carlson, the vice-presidential candidate, has a similar active record in the labor movement. A graduate with a Ph.D. degree from the University of Minnesota, she served four years as a delegate of the Minnesota State Employees' Union, Local 10, to the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly.

### OPPOSED WAR

Both candidates were defendants in the 1941 frame-up trial of 18 leading American Trotskyists. They were imprisoned for 13 months in federal penitentiaries, for the "crime" of opposing imperialist war and advocating socialism.

The worn-out system of capitalism "is responsible for all the economic, social and political ills that harass the workers and poor farmers today," the candidates said in accepting their nomination.

"If Big Business is permitted to continue running the country, a depression worse than that of the Thirties is inevitable. And so is another world war. Waged with atomic weapons, that war can mean the end of human culture.

"The Republican Party hasn't changed since the days of Herbert Hoover. This political machine of Wall Street now hopes to stage a comeback. But a vote for the Republicans in 1948 is a vote for

## COPS SEIZE 7 ON ROGERS PICKET LINE



Provincial cops swarmed in on pickets at the Rogers Majestic plant in Leaside (Toronto), as members of United Electrical Workers Local 521 closed their picket line against the threat of scabs. (See story below).

## 7 UE Members Face Trial For Battling Police Terror

breadlines just as it was in 1928...

"The Democratic Party is not a whit better. Like the Republicans, the Democrats stand for unbridled militarism. A vote for Truman is a vote for atomic war!"

### WALLACE MOVEMENT

Thousands of workers, disgusted with the Republican and Democratic parties, want a change and are looking toward the Wallace movement. "But does Wallace's sudden departure from the Democratic Party make his program any better

(Continued on Page 3)

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# U.S. Trotskyists Name Candidate for President

(Continued from Page 1)

than that of the other capitalist politicians?" the SWP candidates ask.

"Wallace claims that he stands for peace. In the same breath he emphasizes his loyalty to the capitalist system. Peace and capitalism don't mix."

Woodrow Wilson promised to keep America out of war, yet plunged the U.S. into World War I, they point out. Roosevelt promised "again and again," not to send American boys overseas. But "Roosevelt had Wallace's help in plunging the U.S. into World War II."

Wallace can only follow the same path, for war is bred by the capitalist system he represents.

## WALLACE MOVEMENT

The SWP National Committee issued a statement dealing extensively with the Wallace movement's origin and purpose, and its effect on the political scene.

The statement points out that the Wallace movement grew out of the postwar fight, primarily over foreign policy waged within the Democratic Party since Roosevelt's death. "This has been and remains a purely tactical fight, rigidly restricted within the framework of capitalist class politics," the SWP explains.

"The Wallace movement objectively expresses the interests and outlook of those elements among the U.S. ruling class who believe it expedient to conciliate the labor movement at home and the Kremlin abroad." Wallace, a millionaire publisher and defender of capitalism and Americanism, personally holds the reins of the movement.

Today the monopolists unitedly oppose the Wallace movement. But "under different circumstances, at a later stage of the development of the capitalist crisis, they could easily turn to him, as they turned to Roosevelt, in an attempt to head off an independent class movement of the workers."

## FALSE PROMISES

Wallace's program and propaganda are awakening a response among the workers and Negroes

because they take Wallace's promises at face value. His program and propaganda are "cleverly designed to appear as an anti-war, pro-labor alternative to the Truman party of war, depression and assaults on labor's rights and civil liberties."

But this mass sympathy for the Wallace movement does not give it the character of a Labor Party. The movement is dominated by a liberal capitalist politician, Wallace. It is supported by the Stalinists who only want to put pressure on Washington for a compromise agreement with the Kremlin, in the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The unions have no control over Wallace, his program, or his party.

"Under these circumstances," the SWP warns, "millions of votes garnered by Wallace can enhance his personal influence and prestige, increase his bargaining power in negotiations with the Democratic leaders, and give him all the greater independence from the labor movement."

The Wallace formation has not yet even completely detached itself from the Democratic party. "Wallace has announced plans to back Liberal Democrats and progressive Republicans in 1948. He has left the door open to make peace with the Democratic high command after the 1948 campaign, and possibly before."

## HEIGHTENS CONFLICT

The most favorable factor on the credit side of the Wallace movement, is that it "helps to shatter the hold of the two-party system upon the workers and to unsettle the whole political situation, setting new political trends in action, spreading new ideas and raising more sharply the question of labor's independent role in politics."

"This heightening of the political conflict should be utilized to expose the servility of the labor bureaucrats to the Democratic machine," the SWP declares. It should be used "to advance the need for the Labor Party—and to lay bare



GRACE CARLSON



FARRELL DOBBS

the Wallace-Stalinist adventure as a spurious substitute for a Labor Party and a false answer to labor's political problems."

Its analysis of the Wallace movement is summed up concisely. "The union militants must combat BOTH the Wallace-Stalinist third party and the AFL and CIO bureaucrats who support the old-line capitalist parties and candidates. Union militants must continue to fight for the formation of a genuine party of labor, based on and controlled by the unions."

## SUPPORT SOCIALISM

"We call upon all workers and all supporters of the struggle for socialism to support and vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidates, Farrell Dobbs for president and Grace Carlson for vice-president, in the 1948 national election."

# Workers Forcing Leaders Into New Wage Struggles

By JEAN LaPLANTE

There is a great seething and ferment in the unions. The workers are being goaded into action by the profit gougers who have wiped out all the gains won in the grandiose battles of 1946. Continual price rises have generated such intense pressure that it sporadically forces workers to break through all barriers and restrictions that would close them in. The working class is anxious to do battle with the bosses.

A wild-cat strike breaks out in a small UAW plant in Toronto. A turbulent meeting of Hamilton steelworkers rejects with a vote of 10 to 1 the ten-cent offer of the Stelco bosses. UE members at Rogers strike for 20 cents against a 6-cent company offer. Over 600 AFL machinists strike at Dundas.

Almost 750 officers, engineers and radio operators walk off ship, tying up 150 boats in Atlantic and Pacific ports. More than 10,000 Alberta coal miners win \$2 a day after a month long stoppage. Their British Columbia brothers are still out. Local 136 of the Rubber Workers unanimously rejects a 6 cent across-the-board offer. "We won a four-month strike in the summer of 1946 . . . I feel sure our members will take similar action this

year if necessary," said their president.

And what are the leaders of this mighty army of over 800,000 organized workers doing to aid their members obtain the desperately needed wage increases. Are the Moshers, the Conroys, the Millards and Jacksons giving encouragement to the workers in their fight with the monopolists? Are they aiding and inspiring them, giving them leadership?

A few weeks ago the top leaders of the Canadian Congress of Labor held a long delayed first meeting of the National Wage Coordinating Committee. Here these honoured and well-paid leaders made the astounding discovery "after most careful consideration" that "CCL unions have found that there is no immediate alternative to demanding and obtaining substantial wage increases."

Did they then immediately sit down to plan the strategy of the coming wage struggle? Did they set up a strike fund? Did they estimate what the wage demand should be? Did they coordinate any aspect of the whole problem? No! They scurried to once again assure the government and business that they could be restrained if "in good faith," definite action were

taken to stabilize prices at a lower level.

There has been no coordination of demands in any of the unions whose leading functionaries sat in on the Coordinating Committee. Rubber is out for 22 cents. The UE for 30 cents. Mine Mill and Smelter for 35. Steel for \$45 and a 40-hour week. The powerful West Coast IWA will set its demands at the end of this month. Auto, Packinghouse, Textile and other important CCL affiliates have not announced their demands.

No real preparations have been made for the wage drive that is gradually unfolding. But even more alarming is the fact that there have been settlements that threaten to set a dangerously low pattern. The leadership of the United Mine Workers recommended and pushed through acceptance of Dosco's 40 cent a day offer. Partial returns from the 13,000 miners revealed that almost 40 per cent voted to reject the leadership's recommendation.

Even more treacherous is the role of the leaders of the United Steelworkers. The steelworkers set their demand at \$45 and a 40-hour week — approximately 30 cents an hour. The 1,200 strong National Steel Car local, represented at the bargaining table by C. H. Millard, has just settled for a 13½-cent increase. At a confused membership meeting of the International Harvester local, with no recommendation from the negotiating committee, top representatives of the national leadership pushed through acceptance of an offer little more than one-third the original demand.

While the Stelco workers overwhelmingly rejected a 10-cent offer, *Financial Post* gloatingly reports that union officials "hastened to add that this did not necessarily mean strike action."

According to Bay Street's mouth-piece the union wants 17½ cents, little more than half of the original demand.

A settlement at Stelco on these terms would be a staggering blow at the wage struggle, placing it in a groove that would be difficult to jump out of. The workers must build a fire under the trade union bureaucracy. They must prepare for resolute action against the bosses. They must prepare for strike action to win.



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"The moral qualities of Bolshevism, self-renunciation, disinterestedness, audacity and contempt for every kind of tinsel and falsehood—the highest qualities of human nature!—flow from revolutionary intransigence in the service of the oppressed.

—Leon Trotsky.

## LPP Betrayed Again

Everyone is familiar with the sight of the LPP beating its breast and crying that it has been "betrayed" by a capitalist politician whom it had previously ardently supported. The "betrayals" have happened so frequently that they border on the ludicrous.

If, in a movie, a character takes a nasty fall on a rug, and breaks his leg, the audience's pity is aroused. If, however, in the next scene he again trips and breaks his other leg, an element of comedy enters. When this same character next comes in on crutches and takes another fall, the realm of slapstick is reached.

So it is with the LPP. Let's look at the record:

Tim Buck, in announcing the switch from support of Liberals to support of the CCF, made this priceless statement in explanation of the change:

"The King government, competing with the Tories for political support from the big financial interests, has brazenly betrayed its solemn wartime pledges. It has torpedoed price controls. It has hitched Canada to the war-chariot of Wall Street."

As though it were unusual for a capitalist government to break every "solemn pledge" it ever made to the people! In ALL its actions, particularly the war, the King government has proven itself loyal only to the interests of its class; and by that very token Buck "brazenly betrayed" the workers by his support of King.

This same cry of betrayal is repeated in connection with Bill 39. When thousands of B.C. workers were defying this vicious slave-labor law on the picket lines, the Stalinists made every effort—and unfortunately met with considerable success—to channel the movement away from militant strike action to petitions and labor lobbies. They urged the workers to rely on the same coalition which passed the bill to "amend" it.

Now, however, Tory Leader Herbert Anscombe has said that "if there's anything wrong with Bill 39, it will stay wrong." The Stalinists, stunned by this unexpected harshness, have branded it "a startling statement," and warned labor that it "cannot rely on the promises of the Coalition." (*Pacific Tribune*, Feb. 6).

Betrayed again!

Habit of being betrayed is not confined to Stalin's kudded leaders in this country. It is a by-product of the in bureaucracy's international policy.

American Stalinists find themselves "betrayed" by who received their ardent support in 1944.

French Stalinists find themselves "betrayed" by the man they built up as a national idol in the months of the "Liberation," and to whom they surrendered the powerful resistance movement.

The Stalinists will continue to be "betrayed" by the capitalist "friends of labor" they embrace. But the day the Stalinists are "betrayed" by the workers who now support will mark the end of the great Stalinist betrayal of labor.

## Labor Beware!

Let Labor beware! The Bay Street profiteers and their Tory and Liberal cronies in the federal and provincial governments, are plotting night and day to throw the trade union movement into chains.

There is a real danger that the most vicious principles of the Taft-Hartley Law may be imported into the country. CCF leader Joliffe warned at the recent Ontario Federation of Labor convention, "Mr. Abbott and Mr. Howe won't oppose those kind of imports."

Enough labor-busting devices have already been incorporated into the government's planned new labor law, to make the profiteers drool with pleasure. Their *Financial Post*, March 6, gloated that dominion-provincial unity on the proposed code "greatly minimizes danger of 'national' strikes in major industries such as those in steel, packing and shipping which plagued the nation in 1946-47"—the strikes which won big wage gains for the workers.

Details of the federal bill are still shrouded in secrecy, in the hope that thereby labor may be caught off guard. But the *Financial Post* calls them "little altered" from the strike-breaking Bill 338, shelved at last year's sessions of Parliament because of labor's growing protests.

Joliffe correctly added, promising the Ontario government that it is not considering a "Taft-Hartley Act" are with a damn. The bosses and their political spokesmen are busy every day in the week. Bill 338 included some of the Taft-Hartley provisions; if anything, more will be Ottawa's virulent red-baiting drive paves the way for communist affidavits.

Now is the time to mobilize labor's forces, at struggles against the union-busters throughout the country.

to fight against war, fight then against the times of peace, refuse to vote military credits, into alliances with the bourgeoisie, build brick your own independent revolutionary proletarian

Lenin.

# How a Revolutionist Fights in Parliament

By CHARLES KENT

03-15-4

Workers across Canada are awakening in ever increasing numbers to the necessity of electing working class representatives to parliament to represent their interests against the bosses. One of the chief reasons is the steadily increasing spiral in the cost of living.

As a consequence the CCF, which is a break from the capitalist parties and calls itself "socialist," has progressively increased its support among Canadian workers. Its supporters justifiably demand that in the House of Commons the CCF members act in accordance with their interest to fight the price increases.

## EXPOSES COMMITTEE

Last month, however, to the disillusionment of many workers, the CCF cowardly capitulated to the King government on this question. King, in the latter part of January, had proposed to the House a "Price Investigating Committee" to "uncover" the cause of the inflation which had been lowering the people's standard of living.

At first the CCF's position was correct from the workers' point of view. The party's M.P.'s exposed the treacherous nature of the committee. Said E. G. McCullough (CCF, Assiniboia), "... when it (the committee) approaches dangerous ground and starts investigating embarrassing things which may require government action, the prime minister will start pulling strings so that the committee will get off that dangerous ground."

CCF national leader, M. J. Coldwell, declared on Feb. 2, "It is not an investigation we need. We need action." On Feb. 4 he threatened to boycott the committee: "We are going to be no party to this maneuver ..."

But when the showdown came, the CCF quickly forgot its bold statements. Not only did it agree to participate, but it withdrew its backbenchers, previously nominated, and replaced them with two of its top parliamentary leaders.

By sticking to its guns and refusing to serve on the committee it could have shaken the King government to its foundations and tremendously enhanced its prestige with the peoples of Canada. Wide-

spread popular support would have been gained for the party and for a program that really came to grips with the price gougers.

## WORKERS PUZZLED

Many workers look with puzzlement at the Stalinist Labor Progressive Party, a party which once called itself "communist." They can see little difference in its actions and the boss parties when in public office. The record of Fred Rose, only Stalinist ever elected to the House of Commons, and various Stalinists in provincial and municipal office, together with the record of the CCF, has caused many workers to become disillusioned, not just with these two parties or with parliamentarism

itself, but with all who put themselves forward to represent their interests.

Justifiably, these workers ask, "Is there any working class party which will represent our interests, which will not betray us upon the slightest behest of the capitalists, and which will present our thoughts and our needs in the halls of parliament?"

The parties of the Fourth International, including its Canadian representative, the Revolutionary Workers Party, exist to meet the need of the working class ... to fight in every arena for the socialist revolution. Wherever workers have elected candidates of the Fourth International to parliament, they have waged an uncompromising struggle for the workers. They have remained true to every detail of their program. No "cap-in-hand" begging for crumbs, but a clear, forthright presentation of the workers' demands upon the capitalist state.

An outstanding example of what Bolshevism means and how Bolsheviks conduct themselves in parliament was recently demonstrated in Ceylon. On this island colony of England, the Bolshevik-Leninist Party won the leadership of the Ceylon working class because of its intransigent opposition to imperialist war and colonial oppression. The mass struggles of the Ceylon workers forced Britain to grant partial independence to the island, but with a large measure of sovereignty remaining in the hands of the imperialists. A government was set up with a House of Commons and a Senate.

In last fall's elections the Bolshevik-Leninists received over 500,000 votes and elected six members to the parliament. One of the party's representatives, D. W. T. Perera, was selected by the House of Representatives to serve in the Senate. His first official act was

to introduce a bill abolishing the reactionary second house whose primary purpose was to block progressive legislation.

Contrast this to the cowardly behavior of the British Labor Party which after three years in power has just gotten around to introducing a bill limiting the present power of the House of Lords to delay fiscal legislation from two to one year. But even this very mild reform of a hereditary feudal legislative body was too much for the milquetoast Labor Party leadership. At last report they were discussing with the Tories a "compromise" which would increase labor's strength but not give it a majority in the House of Lords.

In contrast to this futile and corrupt policy, the parties of the Fourth International offer a clear-cut alternative. The Fourth, like its predecessor, the Communist International, of Lenin and Trotsky, bases its program on the organized power of the workers. As a consequence, it views with contempt the parliamentary maneuvers, deals and compromises of the Social Democrats and Stalinists.

It lives up to its program, unlike all other working class parties. In the halls of bourgeois parliaments as well as in the more important fields of the class struggle. Its ability to do this is based not on its socialist integrity, but on its correct analysis of the less important role of parliament in the epoch of capitalist decay.

Consequently its program is true reflection of workers' needs not only for the ultimate overthrow of power by the working class for the day-to-day struggles of the workers in legislative assemblies and on the picket lines.

## Workers' BOOKSHELF

**WHO OWNS CANADA**, by Watt Hugh McCollum, Woodsworth House Publishers, 1947. Obtainable through Labor Challenge Book Service. Price 50 cents.

Who owns Canada? Who is the capitalist enemy of the workers? This pamphlet names names. It describes in bold, clear lines, with facts and figures obtained from unimpeachable sources, the vast and overwhelming power with which the monopolist octopus grips the economy.

The facts and figures presented by McCollum about the real nature of Canadian economy will startle many workers. Above all those workers who accept the United States as a land of combines and trustification but who like to think of this country as a land still relatively free of the Big Business stranglehold.

"Corporations in the United States may be more numerous and larger than those in this country, but" McCollum proves, "Canada is away ahead of its bigger neighbor when it comes to concentration of control."

"Two hundred non-financial corporations in the United States possess 49 per cent of all non-banking corporate assets, whilst over one hundred non-financial corporations in Canada possess more than 85

per cent of all non-banking corporate assets in this country."

"Approximately 50 men control the majority of the 100 largest corporations and their numerous subsidiaries." Who are the "50 Big Shots"? The author strips away the mask behind which they hide from public gaze.

The searchlight of truth reveals that these 50 monopolists "are not foreign 'International Bankers' of mysterious Eastern European origin, nor are they Jews or materialistic Atheists." All are of 'good' Anglo-Saxon, Celtic or French ancestry . . . and with the exception of four born in the United States, and four who hail from England, the remaining 42 are Canadian born and bred."

Nor are they young dynamic leaders who through struggle and skill in the technique of industry or administration reached the dizzy heights. "Thirty-seven of these 50 'Big Shots' are over 60 years of age, only one is younger than 50 years . . ." And "Forty-seven of them are directors of 8 of Canada's chartered banks but only three of them have ever had any banking experience . . ."

The author, within the limits of this 103-page pamphlet, projects on the screen the colossal network of interlocking directorates, subsidi-

aries, etc., through which the capitalists control the economy of the country. But the film stops short and fails to give the full implications of their stranglehold.

CCF leader Coldwell in an introductory note makes the naively stupid remark that "one half of our national life—the political half—is democratically controlled through Parliament. But the other half—is a dictatorship in which power is concentrated at the top."

As if this monster, swollen with gain, arrogant and ruthless, stopped short—too frightened to enter "the political half." Canada's 50 big shots, Coldwell notwithstanding, have buttressed their economic stranglehold with the domination of the entire state apparatus and all its ramifications. And in this field they are as vicious and tyrannical, their ambitions every bit as monopolistic, as they are in "the other half."

It is they who make or break prime ministers, senators, judges, educators. It is they who control the army, the press, the church, the schools, the police and the entire life of the country. But to write this book, to draw the full implications that *Who Owns Canada* has for the Canadian workers, one has to be a Marxist. The author of this book will find Lenin's *State and Revolution* an incomparable guide.

—Paul Kane.



## ANTI-LABOR LAWS FLOOD COUNTRY

### Sliding Scale Gains Favor in Vancouver IWA Discussion

By SID STARK

Vancouver, B.C.—The demand that the escalator clause be included in all International Workers of America (I.W.A.) contracts came before the union's Wage Scale Conference held in this city April 2 and 3. It met the best reception since rank and file militants began campaigning for it two years ago.

Though referred back to the union policy committee the support won by the escalator clause was a reflection of the general militancy that dominated all the sessions of the Wage Scale Conference. The conference unanimously approved the two major demands recommended by the union executive: 1) a wage increase of 35 cents across the board; 2) Full union shop, requiring all workers who have served their probationary period of employment to join the union. Approved also was the executive recommendation to fight for the establishment of a well administered by the union, tributed to by the bosses, basis of 5 per cent of the The delegates showed termination to take strike by an enthusiastic acceptance proposal to establish a strike fund. The fund is to be built up assessment or contribution per member.

Just two years ago the leadership in the I.W.A. braiding scale, "Gouper's" itionism," and charged that blunt the militancy of the ers. Today the growing of the opposition could be by the manner in which it ship handled this main op demand.

The resolution calling escalator clause was passed by a near unanimous vote 1-217 last December. Sent January Convention of I it was dropped to the bottom agenda and finally referred Wage Scale Conference.

The resolution provoked est and most serious discussion.

(Continued on Page 3)

### TIME TO WAKE UP!



### 'Vote Right - or Else' Is Threat Of Wall Street to Italian Workers

By CHARLES KENT

A new high has been reached in the preparations by Wall Street for the Third World War. American imperialism is using the crucial Italian elections to further incite war fever and to take another step in the direction of open hostilities against the Soviet Union.

The April 18 elections have brought forth a series of dire threats from the American government. These threats, coupled with promises and bribes, are naked attempts to blackmail the European peoples into joining the camp of American imperialism.

The Italian people have been told by both President Truman and Secretary of State Marshall that if they exercise their democratic rights and vote for the Popular Front, headed by the Communist (Stalinist) party, they will lose all chances of American aid.

Marshall, in two West Coast speeches, brazenly proclaimed this

new policy of open intervention in the internal affairs of a supposedly free people.

"If the people of any nation," he threatened on March 19 in Berkeley, "choose to vote into power a government in which the dominant political force would be a party whose hostility to this program has been frequently enunciated," then this, "could only be considered evidence of the desire of that country to dissociate itself from the program (U.S. economic aid)."

He pointed specifically to the Italian nation and to the "electoral campaign now in progress."

This threat was followed on March 19 with the promise that if the Italian people voted for the capitalist parties, Trieste would be returned to Italy. This appeal to nationalist sentiment was issued concurrently with rumors "from usually reliable diplomatic sources" that the Italian colonies in North Africa would also be returned.

A personal touch was added to the pressure campaign as thousands of American and Canadian citizens of Italian extraction sent cablegrams at the expense of various bourgeois newspapers and patriotic societies to their kin in Italy urging them to vote the "right" way.

The Wall Street warmongers and their political stooges in Washington are not without allies in the camp of labor. The labor bureau-

cracy has fallen all over itself in its efforts to sell the bosses' Marshall Plan to the workers.

Philip Murray vigorously denied that the Marshall Plan involves interference in the "internal affairs" of other countries. The very next week, CIO secretary-treasurer James Carey told the Italian workers that if they vote the Communist-Socialist ticket on April 18, they "can hardly expect to share in the benefits of the ERP."

Not to be outdone, AFL president William Green warned the Italian workers a few days later, over the State Department's "Voice of America" broadcast, that those who say "a vote for the Communists will not cut off help from the U.S." are "not telling the truth."

Besides talking loudly and helping to swing the "big stick" of American imperialism over the heads of the European working class, Wall Street's labor statesmen have glibly told the workers at home lies about the real nature of the European Recovery Plan.

The labor apologists of the Marshall Plan received a shocking blow from the House of Representatives on March 30. The House revealed the true nature of the Marshall Plan in all its nakedness through its overwhelming vote to extend aid to Franco Spain. This crude "diplomatic error" roused such protest that it had to be corrected. Plans are currently being made to give the fascist dictator, who cannot survive without Wall Street's aid, an independent loan.

Included in the Marshall Plan is half a billion dollars to be split

(Continued on Page 2)

### Brutal PEI-Alberta Bills in Force; Dominion Measure Gets First Reading

By R. NORTON

The long-threatened Dominion anti-labor law has passed its first reading, and is scheduled for enactment at the present session of Parliament. Labor Minister Mitchell boasts that six provinces are prepared to copy the federal code. In Prince Edward Island and Alberta, the provincial governments have passed union busting laws so repressive that they make the Taft-Hartley Act look like a bill of rights.

In British Columbia, the hated Bill 39 remains on the books without amendment.

Hope by rope, Bay Street and its hirelings in the governments have been hog-tying Canadian labor. They have been aided by the cowardice and blindness of the trade union bureaucrats who lulled the workers with the false hope that the capitalist politicians could be restrained by pleas and petitions.

#### WIDE SCOPE

The federal bill, little changed from the one that was shelved last year, covers railway, shipping, transportation, telegraph, broadcasting, and interprovincial trades. But it provides federal government to see other industries.

power to revoke the certification of any union whenever the board—not the workers—thinks that the union no longer represents a majority of the employees in a bargaining unit. It can harass any union engaged in strike action, diverting its energies and strength by tying it in repeated elections to prove that it still represents the workers.

The closed shop, won by many unions after decades of struggle, would become almost extinct under the law. The bill declares that "no employer may dismiss a worker for belonging to a union other than the one specified in the agreement." This section of the law makes it almost impossible to maintain the basis of the closed shop, union membership as a condition for employment.

How did the government expect to

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### Italian Workers Threatened by U.S. Imperialism

(From page 1)

up amongst the capitalist dictatorship in Greece, where labor unions are outlawed and the government's firing squads work day and night killing Greek workers; the dictatorship in Turkey where unions are banned and labor leaders imprisoned without trial; and Chiang Kai-shek, whose bloody dictatorship is so rotten that the very Senate committee which recommended sending him arms, had to admit the unspeakable foulness of his regime.

The trade union leaders, these conscienceless labor lieutenants of capitalism—in their blindness and opportunism—are selling the American and world labor movements down the river to capitalist totalitarianism and barbarism... the end product of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan.

CTBIKE

# LABOR CHALLENGE

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## STRIKE A BLOW AT THE WAR-MAKERS

An Editorial

The war danger is real!

The cold war that commenced immediately with the end of hostilities in 1945 has been rising to a white heat... a white heat that threatens to burst out into atomic explosions with the force and devastation of a thousand Hiroshimas.

Can anyone say we are not living in a period comparable to the pre-war months of August, 1939? The forces are already lined up and armed to the teeth. Wall Street hungrily eyes the Soviet Union, encircling it with a wall bristling with cannon and bombers. Marshall dangles a dozen puppet governments on the strings of the ERP and is brutally black-jacking all weaker nations into Wall Street's military camp.

Yankee and Russian troops are face to face on a dozen fronts. Incidents multiply at Berlin, Korea, and Trieste. Who knows what spark might light the world conflagration.

There is only one factor that stands in the way of the imperialistic lusts of finance capital. In August, 1939, the capitalists, through their agents in the ranks of the working class, the Stalinists, the Social Democracy and the trade union bureaucracy, had already neutralized all effective opposition to their horrifying plans.

Today the masses, still weary from the bloody ravages wrought by World War II, disillusioned at the failure of realization of the promised Four Freedoms, are not prepared to be dragooned into another slaughter.

But Wall Street and its Bay Street satellite have been working strenuously to "correct" this situation. Through all the propaganda instruments at their disposal they have launched a campaign that is unprecedented in its sweep and frenzy. Prepare for war against the USSR! This is the real significance of the red baiting hysteria. This is the real significance of the anti-labor drive—hamstringing and smash the organs of the working class, the only effective opposition to the war-mad profiteers!

Canada plays a large part in the war plans of Wall Street; as a potential battle ground, a field for maneuvers, a source of military materials and a recruiting ground. Above all the Bay Street monopolists are anxious to join their leaders in the hopes of satiating their own appetite for spoils.

In the past month Minister of Justice Ilsley has been making bellicose speeches across the country. American forces stationed at Fort Churchill are extending their buildings and facilities. Canadian defence headquarters have been reported to consider it possible that Canada will be a training ground for American forces if and when Truman can jam through Universal Military Training. The Canadian Armed Forces, now almost 35,000, are increasing the.

(Continued on Page 4)



The liquidation of the private ownership of the means of production is the central historical task of our epoch and will guarantee the birth of a new, more harmonious society. The act of birth, daily observation teaches us, is never a "gradual process but a biological revolution".

—Leon Trotsky.

## Strike a Blow at the War Makers

(Continued from Page 1)

tempo of their recruiting drive. The Navy is completing war maneuvers with sections of the British fleet in the vicinity of the Virgin Islands.

What can be done to strike a blow at these feverish preparations for war? It is necessary to make a decisive move to rally the anti-war forces, to inspire their ranks and stay the hand of the capitalist government.

This session of the House of Commons will be presented with the 1947-48 budget. The budget estimates have already been tabled.

Bay Street's representatives plan to shove their colossal military appropriations amounting to 252 millions, an increase over last year of \$30 million. In addition to a \$7,460,000 increase to the RCAF, there is a \$1 million increase for the National Research and Atomic Energy Control Board work that will cost almost 13½ million. A blank check arrangement has been made to provide an additional \$20 million.

Twenty-eight CCF MP's sit in the House of Commons. They were put in office by the working people of Canada. On holiday occasions these MP's, when not peddling Marshall Plan propaganda, proclaim their adherence to the Regina Manifesto adopted at the CCF founding convention in 1933. The Regina Manifesto states: "Canada must refuse to become entangled in any more wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism... We stand resolutely against all participation in imperialist war."

The workers of Canada and above all the members of the CCF must demand that the CCF MP's wage an all-out struggle against the war.

The first step in such a struggle must be a thunderous demand that the CCF MP's vote against the King military

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# LABOR CHALLENGE (55)

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budget.

Not a cent for imperialist war !

Demand that the entire military budget be diverted to the building of essential low-rent housing to meet the needs of the people !

## You Lie, Mr. King!

Prime Minister King, surrounded by his cabinet, met the delegation from the Trades and Labor Congress (AFL). For 48 years he has heard the annual representations of the TLC. This year, he felt called upon to deliver a short address.

The Prime Minister saw a very real hope in the future progress of Canada in that the labor organizations had known their own needs and had presented them in such a way as to show that they believed in reason, rather than subversion and force. "Throughout the years, representations, moderate, constructive and beneficial had brought results in labor and social measures," he claimed.

And so the picture unfolds . . . a picture of the harmonious gradual and progressive improvement of mankind's circumstances. But how does this idyllic scene jibe with real life? Is there even a shadow of truth in it?

The total productivity of Canadian economy has more than doubled since 1938. And what has this meant for the working people? More clothes? more food? better living quarters? No ! The workers and poor farmers who toiled in the fields and factories to create this vast wealth; their share of it dropped from 62 per cent down to a mere 54 per cent. A small handful of capitalists took a bigger share of the national income than at any time in history.

And the depression which everyone knows is in the offing. Isn't this a sour blast that drowns out the sweet notes in King's ditty ! Last depression saw one out of five heads of families in Saskatchewan and many industrial areas in Canada on relief. Will this depression thrust two out of five, or half the heads of families onto relief?

And what we have—was it gained by peaceful representations, by informing parliament of our needs and waiting for results?

What labor wants is a pay check that doesn't disappear between job and store, homes, security. What it gets from parliament is promises, trickery, squads of police armed to smash picket lines, and repressive class legislation.

At most parliament has only granted legal recognition to what labor has already won in struggle and conflict with the class enemy.

But in the year 1948 it is sheer mockery to talk about further progress, peacefully attained through parliament. Today it is not a question of new gains but a struggle to defend old positions long past won. The flood of anti-labor legislation makes this crystal clear. Monopoly capital is out to throttle the labor movement, to drive it down to the depths and destroy it utterly.

The defense of old positions and the winning of new positions requires above all a clear understanding that everything is gained in struggle, and that it is necessary to build the finest instrument of this struggle—the revolutionary party.

04-15-26

# GPU Concocts New Forgery to Smear Leon Trotsky

From the Militant, American Trotskyist Weekly

By GEORGE BREITMAN

Stalin's GPU murder machine, which could not destroy the stainless revolutionary reputation of Leon Trotsky and the Fourth International even though it resorted to the Mos-

cow Trial frame-ups and the assassination of Trotsky, last week launched a new frame-up in the form of a crude forgery called "Trotsky's secret political testament."

The purpose of this forged document, every line of which is covered with the political fingerprints of the GPU, is to spread the slander that in the final months of his life the great Marxist leader renounced "all the ideas and all the conceptions which he had formerly held." It seeks to discredit the world Trotskyist movement, which represents the most serious threat within the working class to the domination of Stalinism; and thus to prevent the adherence to the Fourth International of leftward moving groups formerly belonging to the Social Democracy, especially in France and Italy.

This crude forgery, while written by the GPU, was naturally not released in the name or in the official press of the Stalinists, because that would have destroyed its effectiveness. Instead, it was planted in the weekly *France Dimanche* in Paris and, according to this paper, also in the Swiss *Die Wochen Zeitung*. *France Dimanche* boasts of its "customary objectivity" in the article containing the alleged "testament," but as seen below, this is not the first time it has been hired by the GPU for its dirty work.

"Thanks to an incredible combination of circumstances," the March 21 leading article in this paper begins, "the political testament which Leon Trotsky wrote just before he was assassinated, has arrived in Europe . . . This document, so extraordinary in every respect, has remained secret for eight years. It was believed to have been destroyed. It was written by Leon Trotsky on May 20, 1940, at the time when Hitler was winning the battle of France."

Why did it remain secret? Who believed it to have been destroyed? The people who never heard of its existence, or the people who had it and therefore knew it wasn't destroyed? These are questions never answered in the article.

## OBTAINED FROM WHOM

"Toward the end of July, 1940, a Soviet agent succeeded in securing a copy of the testament which Trotsky had entrusted to one of his intimate friends and the document was transmitted to Moscow." From whom did *France Dimanche* obtain this information? The only possible source was the GPU itself. This is a convenient preparation for a possible future "confirmation" of the frame-up by the Kremlin itself. And again—who was this un-named "intimate friend"?

"On July 20 Trotsky was assassinated by one of his collaborators, Jacques Mornard." That is the signature of Stalin himself. THE

WHOLE WORLD KNOWS THAT MORNARD (ALIAS "FRANK JACSON"), FAR FROM BEING A COLLABORATOR OF TROTSKY WAS AN AGENT ACTING UNDER THE ORDERS OF THE GPU.

Only last year this fact was confirmed by Louis F. Budenz, former managing editor of the New York *Daily Worker*, who admitted in his book, *This Is My Story*, that he had worked with the GPU in the preparations for devising an entry for "Jacson" into the Trotsky household in 1940. (Incidentally, "Jacson" murdered Trotsky on August 20, not July 20.)

"Three copies of the testament remained in the hands of a personal friend of Trotsky's . . . Victor Serge . . . it is one of his (Serge's) friends to whom he had entrusted one of the copies, who has just brought it to Europe."

Thus we come to the one and only name used to corroborate the incredible history of this "testament." Serge died a few months ago, and so cannot defend himself from the GPU fabrication. There are sufficient facts known, however, to rip the fabrication to shreds.

Far from being a personal friend of Trotsky's, Serge was a political antagonist and was so designated in all of Trotsky's many references to him during the last years of his life. Why should Trotsky entrust his last testament (in three copies) to such a man and not to Trotsky's loyal wife or his trustworthy political collaborators? And what was the name of Serge's friend who brought it to Europe?

MOREOVER, SERGE DID NOT ARRIVE IN MEXICO UNTIL AFTER TROTSKY'S ASSASSINATION — IN SEPTEMBER, 1941. HOW COULD TROTSKY HAVE GIVEN HIM HIS "TESTAMENT"?

The GPU authors of the article naturally do not provide answers to these questions, nor to the even more numerous ones raised by the text of the alleged document itself.

## WHY A SECRET?

Why, for example, should Trotsky, the most prolific political writer of modern times, have confined his change of opinion to a secret document, whose authenticity would certainly be questioned — to counterbalance the hundreds he had printed on behalf of a contrary view?

Unfortunately for the GPU authors of this clumsy forgery, the Fourth International, on the very day that this "testament" is supposed to have been written, was holding an international Emergency Conference, "somewhere in the Western Hemisphere" (May 19-26, 1940), one of whose main actions was the adoption of a Manifesto on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution (Pioneer Publishers), which reaffirmed the Marxist program in the most decisive manner. The author of this Mani-

festo was none other than Trotsky himself!

Furthermore, why in the entire "testament" is there not a single reference to the Fourth International, to the building of which Trotsky devoted the last 17 years of his life, and why does the only reference to a new revolutionary international carry the implication that it wasn't even formed?

Why, if Trotsky changed the ideas of a lifetime on May 20, did he continue — in the scores of articles he wrote and interviews he held from then until the day of his death three months later—to reaffirm with his characteristic vigor all of the ideas which he had allegedly "secretly" repudiated? This single discrepancy is sufficient proof that the so-called "testament" is nothing but a forgery of the GPU.

The so-called "testament" states that Trotsky expects to be killed by Stalin because Stalin "judges a Russo-German war as inevitable."

Notice how neatly that fits into the Kremlin lie that Trotsky was an agent of Hitler: Stalin supposedly seeks to murder Trotsky not because the latter is the last great representative of the Bolshevik leadership, but because a Russo-German war is inevitable (and therefore imposes on Stalin the need to eliminate all Hitlerite agents.)

ACTUALLY, OF COURSE, WHILE TROTSKY PREDICTED A RUSSO-GERMAN WAR, AND WARNED THE SOVIET UNION TO PREPARE FOR IT, STALIN AT THIS TIME WAS STILL CUDDLING UP TO HITLER IN THE ILLUSION THAT THE HITLER-STALIN PACT GUARAN-



LEON TROTSKY

## TEED PEACE.

The forgery then has Trotsky describe his life-long devotion to the working class ("I found myself as if fascinated by the splendor of the magnificent conception limned by Marx and Engels") and his hope that the working class would emancipate both itself and the whole of humanity.

Then the "testament" jumps directly to the question of Trotsky's struggle against Stalin's policy, which "sought . . . to convert the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bureaucracy." Trotsky, it continues, used to hope that the workers in the Soviet Union would "react" against Stalin's policy, which is here credited with having "succeeded in making of his Bonapartist clique the ruling class of a pseudo-socialist state." But the Soviet workers, the document states, did not fulfill this hope.

The conception flies in the face of everything Trotsky ever actually wrote or said. Ever since the beginning of the degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalin, Trotsky fought against those who designated the Stalinist bureaucracy as a new "ruling class." Trotsky demonstrated the erroneousness of this designation, showing that the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia was not a ruling class, but a bureaucratic clique without solid class foundations, which was able to seize power in a degenerated workers' state because of the temporary defeat of the world revolution but which would disappear with the victory of the revolution

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in other countries.

In his work written in 1939-40, *In Defense of Marxism* (Pioneer Publishers), Trotsky expounded this idea in great detail. The Emergency Conference Manifesto of the Fourth International, written by Trotsky, again repeats this thought. And so did every single article on the Soviet Union written by Trotsky until the day that Stalin's agent struck him down.

Supposedly disillusioned about Russia, Trotsky is made to say that he then turned his attention to the "international proletariat," expecting to see it rally to "the struggle for a new 'International.'" But "this was not the case. The Communist parties did not react." This makes it seem that Trotsky had equated the international working class with the Stalinist parties, or that he had had some hopes about reforming them when as a matter of fact, he had long before concluded they were irredeemably corrupted.

"It was with great bitterness that I was forced to admit that the only ones who grasped the true nature of the Stalinist danger and who tried to put up dikes against the Bonapartist and bureaucratic tide were certain elements in the left wing of the Socialist movement."

## THE REAL REASON

Here is the tip-off on one of the aims of the supposed "testament"—on the one hand to smear left socialist opponents of Stalinism in Europe as "Trotskyist agents of fascism" and on the other to attempt by this smear to frighten them off from moving toward unity with the Trotskyists.

Then, the Trotsky continues, "I recalled that in the past, in Russia as elsewhere, the purifying waves of the proletarian revolution were set in motion primarily in time of war when the repressive machine of the capitalist state found itself weakened by blood-letting and by economic difficulties and was no longer in a condition to resist the revolutionary forces." The war had entered its second phase, and "it is possible to expect that in a little while Soviet Russia and the United States will become involved in it..."

"The working class of the Soviet Union ought to profit from this war in order to open up fierce hostilities against Stalin's Bonapartist bureaucracy. We ought to exert here the same furious energy that Lenin showed in opposing himself to Kerensky during the First World War... even if it is bound to assist it (fascism) in gaining temporary military successes."

This is one of the biggest lies in the whole Stalinist fabric of falsification. As is well known, Trotsky was an advocate of a politi-

cal revolution against the Soviet bureaucracy, with the aim of restoring working class democracy and returning the Soviet government to the path of internationalism. BUT AT THE SAME TIME THAT HE FOUGHT THE STALINIST BUREAUCRACY, HE WAS ALSO THE MOST DETERMINED DEFENDER OF THE SOVIET UNION AGAINST ALL ATTACKS BY IMPERIALISM. Both before and after May 20, 1940, he explained again and again:

"We must formulate our slogans in such a way that the workers see clearly just what we are defending (state property and planned economy), and against whom we are conducting a ruthless struggle (the parasitic bureaucracy and its Comintern.) We must not lose sight for a single moment of the fact that the question of overthrowing the Soviet bureaucracy is for us subordinate to the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR; that the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR is subordinate for us to the question of the world proletarian revolution." (In *Defense of Marxism*, p. 21.)

In other words, Trotsky's approach to the defense of the Soviet Union (a degenerated workers' state) against the attack of imperialism was necessarily different from that of Lenin's approach to Kerensky's war to defend Russia in 1917 (when it was a capitalist state.)

Trotsky is then quoted as declaring that he had long believed that a revolution in "the progressive capitalist countries" (whatever that may mean) would "necessarily lead to the downfall of Stalin's clique and the regeneration of Soviet democracy. I consider it necessary to say openly to the workers of the world that I no longer hold this opinion." If Trotsky supposedly deemed it necessary to state his change of opinion "openly to the workers of the world," why didn't he do so, instead of incorporating it in a secret "testament"?

Unfortunately for the GPU liars, Trotsky wrote in his "Letter to the Workers of the USSR," written the same month as the so-called testament, "The present war will spread more and more, piling ruins on ruins, breeding more and more sorrow, despair and protest, driving the whole world toward new revolutionary explosions. The world revolution shall re-invigorate the Soviet working masses with new courage and resoluteness and shall undermine the bureaucratic props of Stalin's caste."

From this point on the falsifications grow wilder and more fantastic. Trotsky is presented as giving up not only the defense of the

Soviet Union against imperialist attack, but even the idea that the workers are capable of achieving socialism:

"The victory of this Stalinist bureaucracy over the forces of workers' democracy will open the doors for the darkest period in history ever known by mankind. This will be the epoch of a new exploitive class, born from the Bonapartist bureaucracy of Stalin."

"It will then be necessary to recognize that this bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union brings with it proof of the congenital incapacity of the proletariat to become a ruling class and that the Soviet Union will become the precursor and embryo of a new and terrible exploitive regime on a world scale."

The real authors of this "testament" must have guffawed with satisfaction as they composed this section. Because it repeats some of the phraseology actually used by Trotsky in an article written in September, 1939, called "The USSR in War," published in the book *In Defense of Marxism*. The trick is that Trotsky is here presented as affirming what he specifically denied!

But, it may be asked by some people not acquainted with Trotsky's views in his last months, perhaps something happened between September, 1939, and May 20, 1940, when this testament presents him as saying: "I am a veteran of the revolution who in the last hours of his life finds himself compelled to revise all the ideas and all the conceptions which he had formerly held. I firmly believed in the regeneration of mankind through the proletarian revolution. I begin to doubt that the class on which I had placed all my hopes is capable of attempting the colossal task which history wants to assign to it."

## SURE OF VICTORY

Yes, something happened in that period — Hitler broke through his western front and began the drive which ended in the fall of France in June. BUT AT THE END OF JUNE, 1940, TROTSKY WROTE AN ARTICLE ON THE VERY PROBLEMS RAISED BY THIS IMPORTANT EVENT. ITS TITLE INDICATES ITS CONTENTS: "WE DO NOT CHANGE OUR COURSE." PRINTED IN THE OCTOBER, 1940 FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

And Trotsky's dying words, after the GPU assassin had struck him down and he knew that he was actually uttering his last testament, were:

"Please say to our friends that I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward."

But France Dimanche's article does not end with the end of the "testament." As if wanting to guarantee that all informed readers will recognize that the whole thing was a GPU job, it continues

by recalling that a "special envoy" of this sheet had had an interview with Stalin's assassin, Mornard-Jacson, printed in its Dec. 8, 1946 issue.

The substance of that interview is then reprinted: Mornard repeats the long demolished alibi put in his mouth by the GPU and adds a few newly-invented details—about how Trotsky ordered him to go to Shanghai, then enter Russia to train "squads of saboteurs"; how the assassin thought to himself that this would be dangerous and "Moreover, during the previous month I had been astonished by the frequent visits of the German consul to Trotsky"; how he refused to go, and Trotsky attacked him, threatening to have him shot by the guards; and how he then had no alternative but to murder Trotsky...

And of this the editors say with a straight face: "Trotsky's testament illumines in a singular manner the declarations of his assassin."

WHAT IT ACTUALLY ILLUMINES IS THE FACT THAT EVEN THOUGH STALIN MURDERED TROTSKY, HE HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO DESTROY TROTSKYISM—TROTSKY'S PROGRAM AND THE WORLD ORGANIZATION HE BUILT.

The Kremlin still stands in deathly fear that the revolutionary program of Bolshevism, which it has betrayed—and which is represented today by Trotsky's Fourth International—will win out and destroy not only capitalism, but also the Stalinist murder machine.

04-15-36

04-15-4

## CP MILITANTS, TROTSKYISTS JOINING IN UNITED ACTIONS

United front actions involving both Stalinists and Trotskyists have recently taken place in India, Ceylon and France. Under the pressure of worker-militants both within and without Stalinist party ranks, the bureaucrats have been compelled to accept united action with the Trotskyists. The Stalinist leader-

ship has attempted to build a barrier around rank and file militants by its vicious campaign of lies and slanders against the Trotskyists. But this barrier shows signs of cracking up under workers' recognition of the Trotskyists as courageous fighters for socialism.

New Spark, central organ of the Indian Trotskyists, reports: "At a conference held on Jan. 21 at Patna, 25 representatives of 12 left parties and also of other working class and peasant mass organizations decided to build a United Left Front!

Their joint statement of program, subject to ratification by the respective parties, includes complete independence, severance from the British Empire, confiscation of all British and foreign interests, repeal of all repressive laws, release of all political prisoners, right of free speech, press and association, etc.

"On the insistence of the BLPI (Trotskyist) representative, Comrade Ajit Roy, the right of one party to criticize other parties was safeguarded, save on joint platforms of the Front. Although most of the parties were in favor of including the aim of a Workers' and Peasants' Government in the program, this could not be secured on account of the opposition of the Communist (Stalinist) Party. Finally a compromise formula 'Government standing for the rights of the exploited people' was adopted. The Stalinist's formula was 'Democratic Peoples Government.' Trotskyist deputies in the Ceylon

Parliament have led a militant struggle against the fake 'Independence' bill by means of which military control of the island is left in the hands of British imperialism. In the ensuing vote the Communist Party representatives joined the Trotskyists in opposing the bill.

This was followed by a United Front of Action.

"The largest political meeting in Ceylon," we are informed, "was held on February 11 at Colombo when 50,000 attended the meeting jointly called by the Trotskyists and the Communist Party of Ceylon . . . as a counter demonstration to the 'Independence' celebrations of the bourgeoisie.

"The magnificent response by the people of Ceylon to the BLPI CP rally," the report concludes, "is a crushing answer not only to the bourgeois political leaders who tried to palm off the fake independence as genuine, but also to the dissident LSSP (a split-off group of the Trotskyist party) which contributed its mite to this deception of the masses."

"The Central Committee of Viet Nam Workers in France" has launched united front actions to free Indo-Chinese workers imprisoned by the Schumann government in various labor camps in France. A notable united front action was organized for this purpose recently in Toulouse where the CGT (trade union federation), the Communist Party (Stalinists), and the PCI (Trotskyists) formally joined in a campaign.

04-15-5

# An Unpublished Letter

March 31, 1948.

The Globe and Mail,  
Toronto 1, Ontario.  
The Editor:

Arthur Koestler's "The Secret of Gaullism" appearing in Thursday's paper while professing to explain the "secret" of de Gaulle's influence in the French political scene is nothing less than a shrewd propagandist piece designed to build support for de Gaulle on the American continent.

De Gaulle, the would-be Bonaparte, is desirous of becoming Wall Street's representative in Europe. To win this post it is necessary to prove that he has substantial popular support. According to Koestler this support exists in "the General's heterogeneous entourage which ranges from Trotskyites to former members of the Croix de Feu."

Certainly the very core of the de Gaullist "People's Rally" is the fascistic Croix de Feu. De Gaulle has openly adopted the most important planks of their platform. But are "Trotskyites", the proponents of the socialist revolution, in the General's reactionary "entourage"? This is a lie of the whole cloth!

The International Communist Party (Trotskyist) has been the most consistent opponent of this would-be dictator. Their press, *La Verite*, was the first underground paper during Hitler's occupation. Following the expulsion of the Germans the de Gaullist government refused *La Verite* a publication licence. The Minister of Information who refused the permit was Andre Malraux, ex-Stalinist fellow traveller, adventurer, careerist, who is now de Gaulle's public relations adviser.

Incidentally Koestler himself, apparently a new-found convert to de Gaullism, is also an ex-Stalinist fellow traveller, giving this slander against the Trotskyists all the ear-marks of a GPU fabrication.

The world Trotskyist movement knows de Gaulle for what he is and is in the vanguard of the struggle against him.

ROSS DOWSON,  
National Secretary of the  
Revolutionary Workers Party.



# May Day, 1948 and Labor's Task

On May Day, 1948—less than three years after the end of World War II—the people of Canada and the world face the dread danger of another imperialist slaughter. The "cold war" waged with the weapons of food, secret treaties, propaganda, threats of force and displays of military might, awaits only a spark to break out in full scale bloody destruction.

World War II despite the lies of the capitalists and their spokesmen, with its millions of dead and maimed, its unimaginable destruction, served only to lay the basis for new wars. The capitalist system threatens to wipe out humanity with new and secret weapons even surpassing the frightfulness of the atomic bomb.

On May Day 1948, international labor day, a day dedicated to world-wide working class solidarity and to the memory of countless martyrs who fell in the struggle for the emancipation of humanity from exploitation, it must be clearer now than ever before that there will be "A workers' world . . . or none!"

Capitalism long ago ceased to be a progressive force. Now in its period of decline it is shot through with contradictions which are driving it once again to war.

In the colonies it once robbed and exploited so successfully, the former slaves are fighting for freedom. In Europe, its birthplace, it is incapable of overcoming the self-inflicted damage of World War II. The European working class to which it gave birth is struggling towards the new socialist society. The United States which gave the world mass production, along with its satellite Canada, stands on the brink of a new depression. A depression that will make the crisis of the thirties look like prosperity. When it comes it will spread like a chain reaction throughout the world.

The money men of Wall Street know this, and that is why these imperialists, in a futile effort to keep their system functioning, are driving at break-neck speed to dominate the world. In this plan they are supported by junior partners like the Canadian capitalist class who hope to share in the spoils.

The Ottawa spokesmen of Big Business do their part in suppressing the struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom by shipping planes to Chaing kai-Shek to bomb the Chinese workers and peasants. The Canadian bosses armed the Dutch to make war on the Indonesian freedom fighters.

Under the guise of aiding the starving millions of Europe, Canada participates in the Marshall Plan. That this is only a blueprint for imperialist conquest is revealed in its operations in Greece and Turkey. In the former it maintains a reactionary monarchy over the Greek people and in the latter it allies itself with a dictatorship which has outlawed all trade unions.

Against the plots of the imperialists to keep enslaved the colonial peoples and to crush the European labor movement, we call to the Canadian working class; *For solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands! For complete independence of the colonial peoples!*

Because one sixth of the land area of the world, the Soviet Union, is still closed to the capitalists as a market, a source of raw material and a field of investment and exploitation, it has become the main prize to be won in their fight for world domination. They aim to turn it into a colony; to destroy what still remains of the gains of the great revolution of 1917 led by Lenin and Trotsky, the

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# LABOR CHALLENGE

Official Organ, Revolutionary Workers Party

Canadian Section,

Vol. IV, No. 5 (56)

TORONTO, MAY, 1948

## ELECTION RESULTS IN HOLLOW VICTORY FOR G

A Workers' World - - - or None!



## Windsor Student Gang Plots More "Anti-Communist" Raids

By DON BOWMAN

WINDSOR.—An "anti-communist May Day parade" is the latest threat of the hoodlum students who raided the LPP headquarters here on April 7. Winked at by the police, spurred on and given tactical advice by the boss press, the young goons brazenly flaunt their schemes.

"We believe we must do something more substantial than merely discuss and air our views," one of their spokesmen informed the Canadian Press on April 12. He told of urging members of the board of Education not to allow schools to be used for LPP meetings; bragged of ordering them to "open their eyes to the situation before us. If they fail to, it can

only lead to more dire consequences in this city."

The April 7 outrage, when 500 howling students marched from Patterson High School down Ouellette Avenue, to the LPP offices at 52 Chatham Street West, was prepared and organized in advance.

R. M. Harrison, columnist of the Windsor Star, wrote approvingly on March 31—a week before the attack—that a growing number of students were in an "egg-throwing mood." Afterwards he boasted that he received several phone calls on the evening of the assault, asking if Tim Buck was speaking at Patterson Collegiate. There was no such meeting scheduled, but the students gathered

there anyway, for their march down Ouellette.

Harrison's son, a student at Assumption Collegiate, is said to have been one of the young thugs in the gang. Harrison claims that a "Better Canadian Citizens" outfit has been "organized and in operation for some time" at that school, and he holds it up as an example for "an International Anti-Communist League of Students or something of the sort."

Don Grant, photographer for the Star, told the police in advance that the students were on their way. The police did nothing. The RCMP, whose regional offices are close to the LPP headquarters, also played deaf and blind as the noisy hundreds tramped down the street armed with baseball bats, bricks, and rubber hoses.

After the students smashed the barricades hastily put up by the LPP leaders in the office, and wrecked furniture, typewriters, and office equipment, the police showed up—to take the LPP leaders into "protective custody."

The students dispersed unmolested, one group going to the home of Michael Kennedy (one of the LPP leaders in custody) to pelt it with rotten eggs.

NATION-WIDE

Another gang then gathered outside the home of Roy England,

## B. C. Workers Protest Vicious 3% Sales Tax

VANCOUVER.—British Columbia workers are unanimous in their bitter opposition to the 3 per cent retail sales tax derived by the provincial government. Coming on top of the freight rate increase, it will drive the cost of living for West Coast workers to at least 5 per cent more than the staggering burden borne by workers in other parts of the country. With the national cost-of-living index now at 150.8, the highest point tax during the Legislature session on April 14, CCF Leader Harold Winch called the bill "heartless and cruel. It is a deliberate

# LABOR CHALLENGE

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05-01-16

nationalization of land and industry and state monopoly of foreign trade.

The war mongers have thrown a ring of steel around the USSR. Their armies face it from Iceland to Korea, from Alaska to Berlin. Canada has been chosen by the imperialists as one of the bases for the attack and possibly one of the main battle grounds.

In these hours of danger the Soviet Union has been seriously weakened internally and externally by the criminal policies of the Stalin bureaucracy. The destruction of workers' democracy and the great social laws of the Lenin period; the special privileges, the lion's share of everything torn by the Stalin clique from the masses, and the police terror, are sapping the initiative, morale, and unity of the Soviet peoples.

The betrayals by the Stalinist parties in all countries of the socialist revolution in the interests of momentary diplomatic maneuvers with different capitalist powers; coupled with the looting of Eastern Europe and Manchuria and the heavy reparations being wrung from the vanquished nations of World War II; have turned millions of workers, the only real allies of the Soviet Union, against the USSR.

Valuable elements which with the return to the path of Lenin and Trotsky, will provide the base for the construction of socialism, exist in the state property and planned economy of the Soviet Union. These conquests of the 1917 revolution must be defended by the class conscious workers against those who would restore capitalism there. But this defense must go hand in hand with uncompromising political struggle against the Stalin bureaucracy and all its agencies who are leading the Soviet Union towards destruction at the hands of the capitalists.

Pointing to the crimes of the Stalinists, to slave labor in the Soviet Union, the Canadian capitalists claim to be the champions of liberty and democracy. They hope that the masses will overlook their criminal record.

The war that is being prepared is to be justified and sold to the people with the same hollow lies as World Wars I and II. The real enemies, the war mongers, are fighting the colonial peoples, the European workers struggling for socialism, the Soviet Union and their own working class.

The government at Ottawa is calling on Parliament to vote the greatest military budget in Canada's "peace-time" history. Army, Navy and Air forces are to be brought up to at least 20 times their strength prior to World War II. The main burden for this new war expenditure like the costs of the two previous war is to be placed on the backs of the working people. To this the workers must answer, "Not a penny for imperialist war!" They must demand that the entire military budget be diverted to the building of low-rent housing to meet the needs of the people.

*Down with capitalist conscription!*

The giant monopolies, owned by America's 60 Families and Canada's 50 Big Shots, which dominate Canadian economic life, are piling up the highest profits on record. Their gains are the other side of a picture of ever-mounting prices which are driving down the workers' real standard of living.

The cowardly trade union bureaucrats, both reformist and Stalinist, hold back the powerful Canadian union movement from a real struggle to defend its interests. They con-

(Continued on Page 4)

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## May Day and the Labor's Tasks

(Continued from page 1)

fine themselves to fruitless appeals to the bosses' government to roll back prices and renew contracts for increases that don't begin to make up the rise in the cost of living.

The militants in the unions must unite around a program to defend labor's economic position. They must demand adequate wage increases protected by, a *sliding scale of wages—an escalator clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!*

In their greed for greater and greater profits and because they are aware that the present inflationary boom must result in another economic crisis, the monopolists are planning the destruction of the labor movement.

The first step in this part of the war preparations against the people is the anti-labor law now before the Dominion parliament and the anti-labor legislation being studied or already passed in the provincial legislatures.

Just as the Italian, German and Japanese fascists turned to war to solve their economic problems, so today the so-called democracies turn towards war. Just as anti-labor laws were the first acts of fascism in those countries, the anti-labor laws are the first steps towards fascism in Canada. *Down with the anti-labor laws!*

The labor lieutenants of capitalism in the ranks of the working class by their complacency in the face of this new threat are paving the way for worse repression to come. *Act now to stop restrictions on the right to organize, strike and picket.*

### Red-Baiting Drive

Alongside of legislative attacks on the labor movement and parallel with it is developing a furious wave of boss-inspired red-baiting. This blow ostensibly aimed at the Stalinist L.P.P. is in reality directed at every militant worker, the trade union movement itself, every independent working class party, association, co-operative, and at all civil liberties in Canada.

The first effects are already being felt in Quebec. In the second largest industrial province of Canada, Premier Duplessis, agent of the trusts, supported by the reactionary Catholic hierarchy, is driving the workers' parties underground, re-instituting the notorious Padlock Law. Two trade unionists have been sentenced to jail for seditious conspiracy for leading workers on strike in the town of Lachute.

Support given to the red-baiters and red-baiting by the union bureaucrats and CCF leaders who have refused to defend union leaders from deportation, and in some cases urged their deportation, must be considered by class conscious workers as no less a crime than strikebreaking. For red-baiting aims to divide the working class movement; to splinter it in this moment of danger. It is the beginning of the attack on all those who refuse to go along with the plans of the capitalists to drive humanity into barbarism.

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# LABOR CHALLENGE

(56) May 1948

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The treacherous LPP, which supported the last war, broke strikes, introduced speedups in the plants, red-baited Trotskyists and militants, and tomorrow will lead the workers into new betrayals in the interests of the Stalin bureaucracy, cannot be fought by red-baiting. Just as the workers must defend what is progressive in the Soviet Union from the imperialists at the same time waging relentless struggle against the Stalin bureaucracy, so they must defend the LPP and the unions they lead from the capitalists, at the same time exposing their rotten politics and bureaucratic role. This is the only way the scourge of Stalinism can be driven out of the labor movement. *Down with red-baiting! Down with deportations! Down with the LaCroix bill to outlaw all radical organizations! Defend the democratic rights of all unions, working class parties and organizations! Unity of labor against all divisive tactics of the bosses!*

The CCF leaders are betraying the trust placed in them by thousands of workers and poor farmers. Thousands have broken with the capitalist Liberal and Conservative parties and voted CCF because they want a workers' and farmers' government. This is a great step forward. For it is on the political arena that the most important battles can be fought and won. But the 28 CCF MPs have gone down the line step by step with the capitalists in support of the preparations for war. They have failed to even take a strong stand in Parliament on the daily questions confronting the working people. The rotten reformist politics of the CCF, its class-collaborationist support of the imperialistic foreign policy of the government, its red-baiting and the divisive policies of many of its prominent trade union representatives, are doing tremendous damage to the movement in this country for a labor party.

The struggle against war, insecurity, and oppression is the struggle against the capitalist system that breeds war, economic crises and fascism. For the successful conclusion of such a fight, which is a political one, the workers need a political party, their party, loyal only to the working people. Such a party they will find in the Revolutionary Workers Party, Canadian Section of the Fourth International. Its program is based on the scientific teachings of the great leaders of the world's workers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

The RWP places its confidence in the mighty potential power of the working people. We are confident that the lessons they are learning in life will bring them ever closer to the program of revolutionary socialism. United under the stainless red banner of the Fourth International, hand in hand with the workers and oppressed of all lands, they will strike international capital to the ground.

Then will dawn the new day of socialist peace, prosperity and brotherhood.

*Long Live May Day!*

*Long Live International Labor Solidarity!*

*Long Live the Revolutionary Workers Party!*

*Long Live the Fourth International!*



# Indo-Chinese Trotskyists In Fight for Independence

The following is a condensation of an extensive report by an Indo-Chinese comrade who played a leading role in the Indo-Chinese revolution. This is the first direct testimony reaching us of the revolutionary uprising in Indo-China and the activity of the Trotskyist movement which despite the terrible blows it has sustained continues to live and to struggle in the vanguard of the Indo-Chinese revolution — *Editor*.

By LUCIEN

On August 16, 1945, the news of the defeat of Japanese imperialism was announced through all the countries of Indo-China and the next day the Japanese general staff resigned its administration of the native peoples. Power was turned over to the legal governments of the countries that made up former French Indo-China, Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos.

Several hours after this news was given to the people of Viet Nam, there rose a social tempest of such proportions that it could have overturned everything. They swore to struggle to the last drop of blood for the complete liberation of their country.

The workers of the Banco quarter of Saigon set up the first people's committee of the southern region. The largest working class district of the city elected its people's committee and took over power. In the following days, mass organizations shot up like mushrooms. The peasants were in revolt, landlords were expropriated, agents of the Japanese and French imperialists were tried before the people's courts.

The heads of the capitalist parties attempted to head off the revolutionary movement by convoking a national assembly and forming a "united national front." This capitalist-feudal bloc called for a demonstration, under their leadership, of national independence. But they had reckoned without the Trotskyists.

From 1939 to 1944, hundreds of Trotskyist militants were deported, exiled and imprisoned. But in 1944, the Fourth International movement renewed its activity and the ICL (International Communist League) was reconstituted. In March, 1945, the ICL issued a manifesto, calling on the masses of Saigon to prepare themselves for the fast approaching revolution. "The capitalists and feudalists who now serve the Japanese general staff will similarly serve the allied imperialist states," said the Manifesto. "The Stalinists of the Third International have already abandoned the working class in a miserable alliance with the 'democratic' imperialists... tomorrow they will help the national exploiting classes to crush the revolutionary people."

"Workers and peasants! Assemble your ranks under the banner of the party of the Fourth International!"

When the demonstration of Aug. 21 was held, the Trotskyists attracted thousands of workers with their revolutionary slogans. In a few hours, more than 30,000 workers had re-grouped themselves under the leadership of the handful of Trotskyists. While ICL speakers tirelessly expounded their program in open air meetings, peasants applauded every time the banner of the Fourth International passed by.

After their successful participation in the demonstration, the Trotskyists greatly extended their influence. With their own print shop and press, the ICL issued

bulletins every three hours. Along with its other political work, the ICL engaged in the formation of military nuclei; arming the people was a burning need for the decisive period ahead.

On Aug. 25 came the Stalinist coup. After the defeat of Japan, the Viet Minh (camouflaged Stalinist party) presented itself as the group representing the authority of the Imperialist Allies. The revolutionary masses on the other hand, saw in the Stalinist party, a political force capable of guiding them along the road of anti-imperialist revolution. These contradictions enabled the Stalinist party to rise above the social confusion and elevate itself to the position of a Bonapartist dictatorship. The United National Front proclaimed its own dissolution and the adherence of all the national parties to the Viet Minh front.

On August 25, all government posts were taken over by the leaders of the Viet Minh Front. The Stalinist leader, Tran-van-Glau cynically proclaimed that the "revolution" accomplished by his party was truly "democratic." In reality, it was not a revolution at all, but a coup d'etat put over with the support of the exploiting classes, behind the backs of the revolutionary masses.

Faithful to its revolutionary program, the ICL remained politically independent of the Viet Minh Front, at the same time proclaiming the constant need for the tactic of the anti-imperialist united

front. It unceasingly explained that the Viet Minh was a form of bourgeois coalition and that the revolution had not yet been achieved. Against the Stalinist cry of "All Power to the Viet Minh," the ICL called for, "All Power to the People's Committees!"

The leaders of Viet Minh Stalinism launched a vicious attack on the ICL and preached the idea that the independence of Viet Nam was only a matter of negotiation with the Allies. "Those who urge the peasants to seize landed property will be severely punished. Those who incite the people to arm will be considered as saboteurs and provocateurs. Our democratic liberties will be granted and guaranteed by the democratic Allies."

On September 2, the Viet Minh called for a giant demonstration in honor of the Allied Commission. Next day, over 400,000 people marched peacefully by the cathedral in Saigon. Suddenly, from the top of the church a hail of machine gun and pistol bullets whipped through the defenseless masses, killing forty and wounding 150 others. Cries arose, "The French have fired on us!"

Here was proof that the government was incapable of defending the country and leading it toward independence. From then on the rumor was current that French imperialism would soon be aided by the Allied forces in reconquering its colony. It was a question of life and death.

The ICL led the revolutionary masses through the intermediary of the people's committees. It was thanks to these that it succeeded in politicizing the most advanced layers of the revolutionary classes. Thus, the ICL accomplished a grandiose historical task—the creation of the people's committees or soviets. The committees played an extremely important role in preparing the political and technical conditions for the struggle against the imperialist invaders.

When English and French troops landed on September 12, the ICL launched an all-out campaign to prepare the masses for the coming struggle. With the people's committees, the ICL issued a manifesto denouncing the treacherous capitulation of the Stalinists before the advancing imperialists. The militancy of the people was growing enormously.

On Sept. 14, the Stalinist chief of police sent armed detachments to surround the headquarters of the People's Committees and destroy them. The attack had two purposes — physical extermination of the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat and the surrender of the Indo-Chinese peoples to the democratic imperialists.

The Stalinist leaders gave the order for the systematic massacre of all Trotskyist elements in the country. Scores of militants were assassinated. The three most devoted comrades of our party were assassinated by a Stalinist police chief in July, 1946.

## Windsor Students Threaten More Raids on LPP

(Continued from Page 1)

—above all, the United Auto Workers which brought the auto magnates to their knees in the last strike wave.

The labor movement here is aroused and angry. The UAW declared "We must oppose political persecution wherever it exists." But the joint statement issued by UAW Canadian Director George Burt, Roy England, and Earl Watson, president of the Chrysler Local 155, is naive. They said:

"The fact that the demonstrators were able to march down Ouellette Ave., tying up traffic without any interference from the police, indicates that those responsible for law and order are not alert to the situation."

What it really indicates is something we learn in every strike — that the police know what's going on, and line up with the bosses. We need our own defense squads to defend political and trade union meetings. We can build them now, in every local in Windsor. The sight of thousands of union men protecting their rights, will make the fascists run back to their holes.

# MAY DAY MEETINGS

— ★ —  
**VANCOUVER**

Sunday Evening, May 2, 8 p.m.  
**SWEDISH COMMUNITY HALL**

1320 E. Hastings Street

— ★ —  
**TORONTO**

Sunday Evening, May 2, 8 p.m.  
**87 KING ST. W., Room 5**

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**10. INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS POLITICAL ACTION!**

Establish the workers and farmers government!

## FOR A CCF VICTORY AT THE POLLS!

### B.C. Labor Rally Girds for Fight Against Bill 87

Special to Labor Challenge

VANCOUVER, May 7—A mass rally of trade unionists held under the sponsorship of the Vancouver Labor Council (CCL) in the Pender Auditorium last night took a long step toward an all-out fight against B.C.'s new anti-labor Bill 87.

Bill 87 is the Coalition government's long promised amended version of the hated Bill 39. Instead of modifying the harsh provisions of the original law, the new Bill 87 gives the provincial Labor Board greater powers. Now the Board can cancel certification of any union it doesn't like. It can interfere in collective bargaining, to conduct a vote of the membership on any company offer without consulting the union; it can authorize an employer to set wages and conditions regardless of existing agreements or union demands in negotiations.

These arbitrary anti-labor regulations are in addition to Bill 39's original provisions that labor unions can be sued and bankrupted; that the government shall supervise strike votes; that strikes are illegal during a lengthy "cooling off" period.

### WORKERS BATTLE COPS AT ROGERS PICKETLINE



### Labor Must Defeat Capitalist Parties In Federal and Provincial Elections

By ROSS DOWSON  
National Secretary of the RWP

This coming month three long over-due Federal by-elections will be run off. On May 31 there will be a by-election for the Yale constituency in B.C. One week later on June 8 there will be by-elections in Vancouver Centre, B.C., and Ontario County, Ontario. The Drew government has called an election in Ontario on June 7. Although the date has not yet been set, the Que-<sup>9</sup>bec Duplessis government has

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OS-15-1a

## U.E. Workers Battle Cops In Second Strike at Rogers

By PAUL KANE

TORONTO, May 13—The picket line that circles the sprawling Rogers-Majestic plant here for the second time in three months has been subjected to a fierce reign of terror and intimidation by squads of local and provincial police.

The workers hit the bricks on May 3, after the company flatly refused to settle the dispute with Local 521 of the United Electrical Workers\* Union (CCL-CIO), even on its own terms. On the first day

of the strike local police seized 6\* union militants on charges of intimidation and obstruction. The following day 5 more were arrested. On May 11 Provincial Police seized another 7 pickets. Ross Russell, organizing director of the U.E., was arrested for using the union public address system. "Good morning, fellow workers . . ." brought down the arm of the law and a charge under the Criminal Code.

The police terror on the picket line is only a continuation of the union busting drive that has been going on in the plant ever since the return to work 2½ months ago. Opening up with discriminatory lay-offs of union militants, the company continued its assault with large scale lay-offs involving almost 200 workers, a third of the plant working force. Next the bosses brought in the scab-herding Canadian Federation of Labor. Through foremen and supervisory staff the company attempted to blackmail the workers to drop out of the UE and join the Canadian

Federation. "All but a small handful stood solid.

Having met with defeat the company stooges ditched the Canadian Federation of Labor and approached the AFL. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers took on the dirty job of company-substitute for the CFL.

Fronted by the IBEW, plant officials stalled on negotiations with the U.E. and defied a government conciliation board which unanimously recommended an 8-cent increase, a wage reopener in 6 months and irrevocable check-off of union dues. On the day of the expiration of the old contract the desperate UE leadership offered to accept the company demand that the reopener and check-off be dropped. But the company withdrew — refusing to settle on any terms. With the aid of the IBEW the company masked its refusal to sign up with the UE under the phoney claim that there is a jurisdictional dispute between the UE and IBEW.

At a membership meeting on April 29 the workers, with only

one dissenting vote, decided to strike the plant if a contract was not signed the following day. On Monday morning a determined mass of strikers formed a picket line prepared to block off the plant to any possible scabs. The pickets waged a courageous struggle at three widely separated entrances against a force of office workers and scabs who eventually broke through with the aid of the police.

The leadership were without any plans and had made no preparations for the strike. In this they only continued their whole past policy of vacillations, retreats and capitulations before the boss attacks. At a meeting immediately following the crashing of the picket line Russell confessed that he "didn't think that the strike would take place today." The business agent apologetically whined that they had not set up any strike apparatus and were totally unprepared for it.

The following morning the pickets put up a heroic battle to hold the line but the scabs broke through by sheer weight of num-

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## U. E. Workers Battle Cops at Rogers Majestic

(Continued from Page 1)

bers and with the brutal assistance of the Leaside police. The picket line was weaker. Many workers, demoralized by the previous strike which was called off under the pressure of the leaders despite the opposition of union militants, stood watching on the side lines. When the leadership demonstrated that it was unwilling to assume the responsibility of closing the picket line, that it was defeatist, these workers shamefacedly joined the scabs. The scabs now number over a hundred.

Today, the strike and the whole future of the union is in the balance.

The inspiring demonstration of solidarity organized on May 11 halted the deterioration of the situation. But it solved nothing, contrary to the grandiose prediction of George Harris that "Rogers Day will be a decisive day in winning the strike." A picket line of over 800 militants from UE shops in Toronto, Welland and Hamilton jammed the road leading to the plant. The pickets carried defiant slogans and messages of solidarity with their Rogers brothers. A spontaneous upsurge closed off the main gate and blocked off the plant as the last of the scabs straggled into work.

When they left the scene of battle the Roger's reinforcements shouted a warning cry "We'll be back." As they climbed into the buses and trucks many of them grimly remarked: "We should have closed the picket line at the beginning. That's how we'll win this strike. We'll have to come back and give you a hand!"

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05-15-16

## Labor Must Defeat Capitalist Parties In Federal and Provincial Elections

signified its intention to go to the electorate early in June. The Social Credit Manning government in Alberta, the CCF Saskatchewan government, and the New Brunswick government are all making preparations for early elections.

King has intimated that there will be no Federal election this year. Nonetheless the Liberal Party cabinet will be anxiously watching the outcome of the by-elections and provincial elections. How the vote goes will have a decisive influence on whether the Ottawa government will take advantage of its full term or will go to the polls in the near future.

### BIG ISSUES

Big issues are at stake in these elections. No one can escape participation in them and not be affected by what will flow from them. Those who reject politics through disillusionment with political parties, or those who claim disinterest, are fooling themselves. Non-participation is in itself a significant political act that only reinforces those who now hold the reins of government.

In all three by-elections and in almost every seat in the provincial elections, workers will be confronted with the choice of the Liberal Party, the Progressive Conservatives or the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

The workers must decisively reject the twin political agencies of monopoly capital. Where the Liberals are in power, or where they are out of power and the Progressive Conservatives in, there is no difference in the lot of the working people.

Both parties are corrupt and pliant tools of Big Business. Both legislate in the interests of their masters. They reduce taxes on the rich and thrust the burden onto the poor. They utilize their powers

to prepare and enforce anti-labor legislation designed to smash the trade unions. They vote vast sums of money for unimportant and wasteful schemes, and dribble for education and health. Both do nothing about the appalling housing shortage and fantastic price rises but cover up the mad profiteering of their capitalist bosses.

The union-busting Duplessis government (Union Nationale) and the demagogic Social Credit movement (Union of Electors) attempt to pose as alternatives, try to siphon off the vast discontent that the crimes of the Liberals and Tories have generated in the hearts of the working people. But they likewise are stooges of the monopolists, no less evil and no less untiring opponents of the workers.

A great wave of interest in political action is sweeping through the trade unions. Widening strata of the workers clearly see that labor is being blocked on all sides and brutally attacked by governments that are merely servants of the bosses. So powerful is the idea that labor must break from the two old line boss parties and put into power a government of their own that even the doddering, case-hardened AFL bureaucrats have had to bow before it.

### AGAINST BOSS PARTIES

Only four months ago the second annual convention of the Ontario Provincial Federation of Labor (TLC-AFL) almost unanimously passed a resolution "to ditch the two old line parties." True, the executive board has defied the decision of the convention by its recent declaration of "neutrality" in the coming provincial election. But even these calloused and cynical bureaucrats have been compelled to send out the voting record of each MPP and urge AFL members to use their own judgment.

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→TOP.3

# Vote for CCF Victory Is Labor Election Slogan

05-15-1c

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The powerful Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO) which encompasses in its ranks the bulk of the organized mass production workers, youthful and less bureaucratized, more accurately expresses the desire of the workers to break with the boss parties and enter into the field of independent labor political action. Today the CCF with 28 Members of Parliament at Ottawa and in power in Saskatchewan has become the political expression of this all-important need.

At its last national convention the CCL again endorsed the CCF as "the political arm of labor." This decision has seeped down into the union ranks. The key Vancouver and Toronto Labor Councils have endorsed the CCF. The powerful Ontario Federation of Labor has launched a drive to smash the Drew machine and put in a CCF provincial government.

## WANT A CHANGE

The workers and farmers who have voted for the CCF and who tomorrow will certainly do so in increasing numbers, desire a fundamental change in society. The CCF has become the symbol of that desire.

The Revolutionary Workers Party calls upon the working people to vote CCF—to put the CCF into power in the provinces and to increase its strength in the House of Commons.

We do so because we know that the victory of CCF candidates will advance the workers another step on the road to independent political action and the setting up of a workers and farmers government.

While the RWP supports and calls upon the workers to support the CCF, we do not endorse the political program of this reformist movement nor the record of its candidates. Our support of the CCF is critical support. While the CCF represents a break from the capitalist Liberal and Tory parties, this break is not so clean and clear-cut as its leaders pretend or as many advanced workers think it to be.

## HEADLONG RETREAT

As the workers have been moving towards the CCF and the CCF has approached closer to power, the leaders have modified and torn whole pages out of their program. Today they are in headlong retreat from the extremely modest Regina Manifesto adopted in 1933. A high water mark in this degeneration was the dumping of their anti-war program and their complete collaboration with the King govern-

ment all during the war years. The CCF nationalization program has been so watered down that it has ceased to have any real socialist significance.

Its parliamentary representatives have utterly failed to voice the needs, aspirations or the demands of the Canadian working people.

Instead of rallying the masses in opposition to the mad and suicidal war preparations of the King government, the CCF leaders vote for the military budgets. They loudly protest their loyalty and support of the Marshall Plan and ERP which is the instrument of Wall Street's imperialistic ambitions. Coldwell and MacInnis are in the forefront of the red-baiters. Instead of exposing its reactionary purpose which is to terrorize and squash all opposition to the war drive and to cover up the crimes of the monopolists against the



CCF LEADER COLDWELL

people, they launch a witch hunt in their own ranks.

In a cringing and futile attempt to prove their purity to the opponents of labor, the CCF Ontario Provincial Executive has bureaucratically refused to recognize Robert Carlin, a sitting member, as a CCF candidate in the coming elections. They have also cracked down on housewives' leader Rae Lucock for working with the Stalinist LPP.

## FEAR WORKERS

The CCF leaders have shown themselves to be in deadly fear of a mass influx of workers into the party and its possible transformation into a genuine labor party based on and democratically controlled by the unions. Local CCL Political Action Committees elected by the unions have been ordered that they cannot seat anyone who is a member or a supporter of any other political party than the CCF. All the CCF leaders want from the workers are votes and funds.

It is no accident that W. E. Adamson, CCF candidate for Halton, declared at his nomination that "the Liberal Party platform . . . has been stolen from the CCF." The election program of the Ontario CCF is completely devoid of any class concepts and is merely a collection of modest liberal demands.

The CCF leaders fail to advance a practical program that would express the needs of the bulk of the population and be capable of rally-

ing the overwhelming strength of the workers behind them. CCF parliamentary representatives engage in unprincipled maneuvers. They support and collaborate in such fraudulent bodies as the Prices Committee and the Industrial Relations Committee which are designed to ease the pressure of the workers on the government and to stain the CCF with the Liberal-Tory crimes.

The failure of the CCF leaders to advance a militant program reflecting the needs of the masses, their retreat from such program as the CCF has, and their increasing tendencies to collaborate with and condone the crimes of the boss parties, flow from the fundamental nature of this party.

## DECISIVE BREAK

The CCF is a reformist party in an era when no important and lasting reforms can be attained. As the CCF leaders and program come up against the realities of the situation they can only conciliate, give, and eventually openly capitulate.

We call upon the working people of Canada to support the CCF but our support of the CCF has nothing in common with any conceptions that reformism is a necessary or inevitable stage in the development of the politicization of the working class. Long and extended reformist illusions can prove very costly for the Canadian workers and can only pave the way for fascist reaction.

We support the CCF because despite the inadequacies of its program, the crimes of its leadership, it represents on the broad political scene the break from capitalist politics into the realm of independent working class political action. This break is of decisive importance and it is upon it that the future of mankind hinges.

The task confronting the workers remains however to build the Revolutionary Workers Party which ALONE correctly and truly expresses working class independence in all its facets. The RWP is built on the principles of scientific socialism. It has a program which stems from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leads to one final conclusion . . . the conquest of power by the workers. It is necessary to build this party—the time is short.

# 4th International Holds World Congress in Paris

Special to Labor Challenge

PARIS — The Second World Congress of the Fourth International has just concluded its sessions in Paris. Its work extended over a period of three weeks from the beginning of April.

Approximately 50 delegates representing 22 organizations of the Fourth International coming from 19 different countries took part in the Congress, which was the most representative international gathering so far organized by the Trotskyist world movement.

Amongst the delegates, there were representatives from most European countries, including coun-

tries under U.S. or Soviet occupation, from the American continent, Africa, the Middle and Far East. There were a considerable number of representatives from colonial and semi-colonial countries. The Canadian section, The Revolutionary Workers Party, was unable to send a delegation to the Conference.

Several political leaders of the world movement of the Fourth International participated in the Congress, including comrades J. Haston, secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Great Britain; Colvin di Silva, leader of the Trotskyist parliamentary group in the Ceylon Parliament; S. Santen, secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Holland; Pierre Frank, Fabre-Bleibtreu, J. Privas, of the Political Bureau of the International Communist Party of France, etc.

## RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

During three weeks of hard work, the World Congress adopted important political resolutions, the principal ones being the following: Resolution on the World Political Situation and Tasks of the Fourth International; Theses on the USSR and Stalinism; Report on the Activity of the International since the outbreak of the second imperialist war; Resolution on the Situation in the Colonial Countries and the Tasks of the Fourth International; Statutes; political resolutions on Germany and Italy. The internal situation of certain sections of the International and other organizations claiming allegiance to the International, and their relations with it, were carefully studied, and resolutions were adopted in each case.

Furthermore, the Congress adopted a long Programmatic Manifesto addressed to the exploited of the whole world, summing up the chief

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# 4th International Holds World Congress in Paris

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political ideas elaborated by the Congress.

Commemorating the centenary of scientific Socialism, the Manifesto confirms, in the light of present day events, the analysis of the functioning of capitalism made by Marx and Engels a century ago. Applying this analysis to the study of capitalism, it shows that in spite of the more and more totalitarian form of its State and economy, monopoly capitalism is, more than ever before, incapable of overcoming the chaos and the crises resulting from its regime. It defines the nature and role of the USSR in the midst of declining capitalism, emphasizes the advance of U.S. imperialism towards world domination and examines the problems of the Communist revolution for Europe, the colonies, Latin America and the United States.

Warning the workers of all coun-

tries of the barbarous consequences of the world-wide war which is under preparation, the Manifesto clearly delimits the Communist programme of proletarian emancipation, which can only be realized by the workers themselves, from the Stalinist practise of putting a bureaucratic corset on the workers' movement. It contains a programme of transitional demands, enabling the proletariat to beat the offensive of the world bourgeoisie against its standard of living, and its freedoms, and to raise the struggle to a higher level, for the Socialist reorganization of society.

A new International Executive Committee, composed of 19 members, was elected. The new I.E.C., which held its first meeting immediately, elected a new International Secretariat.

The Congress sent greetings and the expression of its entire solidarity to Comrade Natalia Trotsky, to the imprisoned Trotskyist militants in Greece, China, Indochina, India, Bolivia and other countries, to the Trotskyist militants of the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Germany and Austria, to the workers and colonial peoples of the whole world engaged in a fight for their social and national liberation.

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# Palestine Revolutionists Oppose U.N. Partition

We publish here extracts from a statement which appeared in "Kol Hamamad," Hebrew organ of the Revolutionary League of Palestine.

5-15-3

Politicians and diplomats are still trying to find a formula for the disastrous situation into which Palestine has been plunged by the U.N.O. decision on partition.

We are daily witnessing the killing or maiming of men, women, old and young, Jew and Arab.

Not so very long ago the Arab and Jewish workers were united in strikes against a foreign oppressor. This common struggle has been put to an end. Today the workers are being incited to kill each other, the inciters have succeeded.

The Zionists were overcome with a sense of triumph when offered the bone by the U.N.O. cooks. "Our work, our righteous cause have won . . . before the forum of the nations."

The dwarf of a state which is too small to absorb the Jewish masses, cannot even solve the problem of its citizens. The Hebrew state can only infect the Arab East with anti-Semitism and may well turn out—as Trotsky said—to be a death-trap for hundreds of thousands of Jews.

## REACTIONS TO PARTITION

The leaders of the Arab League reacted to the decision on partition with speeches full of threats. A Zionist state is to them a god-send from Allah. Calling up the workers and the fellah for the "holy war to save Palestine" is supposed to stifle their cries for bread, land and freedom.

In Palestine the feudal rulers had of late begun to lose ground. During the war the Arab working class has grown in numbers and political consciousness. Jewish and Arab workers stood together against the foreign oppressor. A strong leftist Trade Union had come into existence.

The partition decision stifled the class struggles of the Palestinian workers. The prospect of being in the hands of the Zionist "conquerors of soil and labor" aroused fear and anxiety among the Arab workers and fellahs. Nationalist war slogans fall on fertile soil—And feudal murderers see their chance. Thus, the policy of partition enables the feudalists to turn back the wheels of history.

The early crop of partition policy is: Jews and Arabs are drowned in a sea of chauvinist enthusiasm. Triumph on the one hand, rage and exasperation on the other. Communists are being murdered. Pogroms among Jews instigated. A tit for tat of murder and provocation. The "strafing expeditions" of the Haganah are oil for the propa-

ganda machine of the Arab patriots in their campaign to enlist the masses for more bloodshed. The military conflict and the smashing to pieces of the workers' movements are a boon to the chauvinist extremists in both camps.

The patriotic wave makes sitting on the fence very uncomfortable. The Zionist "Socialist" Parties soon "corrected" their anti-imperialist phrases and their stubborn "resistance" against "cutting up the country in pieces" and gave way to full and enthusiastic support to the imperialist partition policy. That was a trifling matter, a question of merely changing Zionist tactics.

Yet the Communist Party of Palestine might have been expected to take a different position. Have they not repeatedly warned against the fatal results bound to come with the establishment of a Jewish state?

"Partition must needs be disastrous for Jew and Arab alike . . . partition is an imperialist scheme intended to give the British rule a new lease of life. . . ."

(Evidence given by the P.C.P. before the Anglo-American Commission of Enquiry on 25-3-46.)

However, after this scheme had been pulled off with the support of the Russian representatives, Kol Ha'am hastened to declare that "democracy and justice have won the day" (1) And overnight there appeared a newly baptized Party of Eretz Israel (Communist Party of the Hebrew Land).

Instead of being the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab and Jewish masses, the Palestine Communist Party became the "Communist" tail of the "left" Zionists. This, precisely in the hour when Zionism shows to everyone its counter-revolutionary face, its blatant servility to imperialism.

The policy of the Palestine Communist Party lacks any consistency. It reflects both the needs deriving from the class war of the Jewish worker and the needs of Soviet foreign policy. The needs of class war require a consistent internationalist policy, the negation of Zionism, its discrimination between Arab and Jew. On the other hand, the need to adjust the party line

to the diplomatic maneuvers of Russia calls for an "elastic" policy, one that lacks backbone. As a result, we find the notorious shilly-shallying and zig-zagging which has harnessed the P.C.P. now to the Zionist wagon. The fifth wheel!

The Arab Stalinists, the "National Liberation League," did not fare better than their Jewish counterparts. They were in a pretty fix having to justify the Russian support of the Jewish state. The Arab workers could not be expected to accept this line. After the pro-partition declaration of Zarakin, the National Liberation League found themselves surrounded by scorn and hostility.

The policy of the Soviet Union has undermined the position of the League among Arab toilers. At present the National Liberation League stands for peace and it is busy exposing the provocative role of the British Government. But since it had cried out for "national unity" (with the feudal Husseinis, the present war instigators) during the past years, its present attitude fails to convince.

## A WAR OF DEFENCE?

The two camps mobilize the masses under the mask of "self-defence." "We have been attacked, let us defend ourselves!" say the Zionists. "Let us ward off the danger of a Jewish conquest!" declares the Arab High Committee. Where does the truth lie?

War is the continuation of politics by other means. The war led by the Arab feudalists is but the continuation of their reactionary war on the workers and the fellah, striving to shake off oppression and exploitation. For the feudal Effendis "salvation of Palestine" means safeguarding their revenues at the expense of the fellahin, maintaining their autocratic rule in town and country, smashing the workers' organizations and international class solidarity.

The war waged by the Zionists is the continuation of their expansionist policy based on discrimination between the two peoples: they defend "kibbush avoda" (ousting of Arab labour), "kibbush adama" (ousting of the fellah), boycott of Arab goods, "Hebrew rule." The military conflict is a direct result of the policy of

the Zionist conquerors.

This war can on neither side be said to bear a progressive character. The war does not release progressive forces, or do away with social or economic obstacles in the path of development of the two nations.

It weakens the working class and strengthens imperialism in both camps.

## WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Each side is "anti-imperialist" to the bone, busy detecting the reaction—in the opposite camp. And imperialism is always seen—helping the other side. For the inveigling policy of imperialism is based upon agents and agencies in both camps. Therefore, we say to the Palestine people in reply to the patriotic war-mongers: make this war between Jews and Arabs which serves the end of imperialism, the common war of both nations against imperialism.

We say the Jewish and Arab workers: The enemy is in your own camp!

Jewish workers! Get rid of the Zionist provocateurs who tell you to sacrifice yourselves on the altar of the Hebrew state.

Arab workers and Fellah! Get rid of the chauvinist provocateurs who are getting you into a blood-bath for their own benefit and pockets.

Workers of the two peoples, unite in a common front against imperialism and its agents.

(57) Mid-May 1948

## RWP Branches Honor May Day By Militant Rallies

The Revolutionary Workers Party celebrated May Day, in the spirit of the heroic martyrs of Chicago's Haymarket Square who were murdered in the struggle for the 8-hour day; in the spirit of the Second International of 1888 which declared it to be the international day of labor; and in the spirit of the millions of workers who in the stormy years since then have on May 1 demonstrated their will to struggle for a new world and their solidarity with their class brothers throughout the globe.

May 1, 1948 in Canada reflected only in a pale way the great demonstrations that terrorized the oppressors of the European and the Asiatic peoples. There were few mass demonstrations. The traditional workers' leaders tried to ignore this day of struggle.

But the members and friends of the Revolutionary Workers Party preserved its great traditions in colorful meetings in Toronto and Vancouver. The Padlock-Law Duplessis government cracked down on a meeting planned in Montreal and forced its cancellation.

The Montreal Workers Educational League announced a meeting to celebrate May Day in the traditional manner but above all to be "a rally against the growing forces of reaction." The League invited Ross Dowson, national secretary of the RWP, to be its main speaker. At the last moment the proprietor informed the League that the hall that had been arranged would not be available. New arrangements could not be made.

The Toronto branch held a street corner rally on the evening of May 1 at which prominent party members spoke, analyzing the tasks confronting the Canadian workers and advancing the program of the RWP. On May 2, a colorful meeting was held at the branch headquarters.

On May 1 over 2,000 copies of the inspiring May Day issue of **Labor Challenge** were distributed to Vancouver workers. The May 2 meeting held in the Swedish Community Hall was chaired by Lloyd Whalen and addressed by Stan Stanton and Tom Bradley. Comrade Bradley analyzed world conditions, the dilemma confronting American capitalism and its war drive on the USSR. He concluded his address with a ringing exposition of the program of the Fourth International and called upon the workers to rally to its banner.

5-15-4





# Stormy Convention Due for British Labor Party

By CHARLES KENT

The growing cleavage between the Labor Party government and the British workers is taking sharper form on the approach of the party's annual convention, May 17. Resolutions introduced to the convention show that the workers are extremely dissatisfied with the nationalization program of the Labor Party leaders, above all with the boss controlled nationalization boards that administer the nationalized industries to the detriment of the workers. The workers are groping towards the solution—workers' control of the nationalized industries.

Three resolutions indicating this trend in the thinking of rank and file party members are scheduled for discussion. They demand:

1. That the selection of boards of nationalized industry be taken out of the hands of the cabinet minister concerned and that they be elected.
2. Increased participation of the workers in the administration of the nationalized industry.
3. That nationalized concerns be "socialized" and not just "nationalized."

## WORKERS PROTEST

These progressive resolutions are a new concretization of a broad wave of dissatisfaction with the reactionary policies of the party leadership. This rebellion has taken the form of wildcat strikes among coal miners, and open opposition in the trade unions against the wage freeze policies of the government.

A dramatic demonstration was recently staged by a handful of Yorkshire coal miners against the

National Coal Board. The miners conducted a "stay-in" strike 3,700 feet below the ground. They charge that NCB "efficiency" measures are reducing wages, threatening their jobs and breaking up their families. In this protest they represented the almost universal feeling among the coal miners.

## GAINED LITTLE

So widespread is this protest against the NCB that the powerful National Union of Mineworkers, which has consistently urged capitulation to the anti-working class edicts of the board, has been forced to launch its own investigations into the board's operations. The union will submit its findings and recommendations to the board itself.

The real reason behind this strike and others, such as the famous Grimthorpe strikes of 1947 is the fact that the workers have apparently gained very little by the nationalizations and have no hand in their administration.

Upon taking power in 1945 the Attlee government began what apparently was a bold policy of nationalization. In rapid succession the national banking system, cable and wireless communications, gas and electric utilities and certain basic industries such as coal and transport were purchased from their owners.

The former owners were royally compensated for their loss. Their securities were exchanged for government bonds paying 2½ to 3 per cent interest at equal face value. From now on the bondholders will collect their dividends from the Royal Exchequer, and without risk.

None of the industries nationalized were profitable. All of them

were in dire financial straits. By taking over this depressed but vital section of British economy the Labor government has succeeded in "socializing the losses," that is, in making the English public pay the losses instead of the individual capitalist.

No change has been made by the British Labor Party in the operation of nationalized industry except to make it more efficient and to integrate it better into the economy as a whole. The boards and commissions set up to run these industries were staffed with their former owners and their associates. While some trade union bureaucrats were added to create an appearance of "partnership" of capital and labor, the business executives remain the majority.

This does not mean that the British workers are against nationalization. Rather there is widespread dissatisfaction over the labor leadership's failure to carry out their edict of total nationalization of the means of production.

Demands are being put forth at the Labor party convention for the immediate nationalization of shipbuilding and ship-repairing industries and industrial insurance. Rank and file delegates will also press for nationalization of the iron and steel industry this session of parliament.

On February 4 Attlee announced his government's wage freeze policy. Attlee also called for a freezing of profits which in 1947 showed an overall 20 per cent increase.

He declared that there must be "no further increase in the level of personal incomes without at least a corresponding increase in the volume of production." This is a

repetition of the old boss slogan: "No wage increase without production increase"—and then only in special cases.

Many unions openly refused to accept this barefaced betrayal of the workers. It took strenuous effort on the part of the labor bureaucracy to fulfill its task of holding the rank and file in check and assuring submission to the government program of loading the burden of the crisis on the broad backs of the workers.

Its function as the political police depriving the unions of their independence for the benefit of the capitalist state made further advance on March 24 when a national trade union conference approved the plan. Despite this, wildcat strikes are inevitable once the full force of the wage freeze is felt by the workers.

## SAVE CAPITALISM

This is at the root of the crisis that continues to stare Cripps and Co. in the face. The Labor Party leaders are not advancing a program of socialism which would proceed from the nationalization of all property in the basic means of production and have as an aim the establishment of workers' control. Instead they are trying to do what the capitalists themselves are unable to do—make capitalism work.

Under the pressure of Wall Street and its own bourgeoisie, the Attlee government is forced to load more and more of the burden of the crisis currently wracking the country onto the workers. But the British workers are not accepting this crushing burden passively. It is upon this factor that the whole future hinges.

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"The more countries in which the capitalist system is broken, the weaker will be the resistance offered by the ruling classes in other countries . . . the sooner the society will be reborn on the basis of a new, more full, more perfect and humane democracy. In any case, no revolution can infringe on the Bill of Rights as much as an imperialist war and the fascism which it will engender."

—Leon Trotsky.

## 4th International Congress

The Revolutionary Workers Party hails the Second Congress of the Fourth International, which successfully concluded its work in Paris last month. We proudly declare our solidarity with the main decisions of this representative gathering of the world Trotskyist movement.

The Fourth International is still a small and persecuted organization, although the Second Congress showed that it now represents more members in more countries than at any time since its foundation ten years ago. Its deliberations are either ignored or vilely slandered in the columns of the capitalist, Stalinist and Social Democratic press. Nevertheless, history will hold them to be a hundred times more important than the vile maneuvers and hypocritical pronouncements emanating from such international bodies as the United Nations. The UN represents the system of capitalism, which has brought the world to the brink of disaster and barbarism. The Fourth International, in contrast, represents the future society of socialism and with its success is bound up the fate of the human race.

The crisis of our times is the crisis of working class leadership. The masses of Europe have demonstrated repeatedly that they want a socialist change in society. They have been frustrated in their desires by the treachery and cowardice of the Stalinists and Social Democrats. But the very conditions resulting from the bankruptcy of capitalism drive them to renew their struggles and continue their search for an adequate leadership.

The Fourth International offers the leadership for which the masses are groping. It withstood the blows of wartime repressions, resisted the pressure of both capitalist and Stalinist reaction and managed to solidify its small but growing forces into firm cadres for the mass revolutionary parties of the future.

Its growth and rise to the leadership of the masses are foreshadowed not only by its tenacity and devotion to principle but by such post-war developments as the Renault strike in France and the leftward movements among the Socialist youth in France and Italy, the first important breaks in the Stalinist and Social Democratic structures.

The First International projected for the first time the world organization of the working class and furnished it with the scientific program of socialism. The Second International mobilized millions and set up mass parties in the most advanced countries of Europe. The Third International, through its core of Russian Bolsheviks, showed how to conquer working class power and launched the revolutionary onslaught against capitalism on a world scale. The Fourth International is destined to organize the victory and establish working class states throughout the world.

## Rally Behind the Seamen

Aided and abetted by Drew's provincials and the RCMP, three lake steamship companies are conducting a vicious union-busting campaign. The Colonial, Sarnia, and Canadian Steamship Lines have openly defied the Federal labor laws and have refused to deal with the Canadian Seaman's Union, legal bargaining agent for the seamen.

Using the excuse that the CSU is "Communist dominated," these companies have signed a phony agreement with Pat Sullivan's scab-herding "Canadian Lake Seaman's Union." Locked out from their jobs, the membership of the CSU have put up an inspiring fight to save their union.

They have conducted a running battle against the company-police combination from the very start of the lockout. Forty-two workers have been arrested in the course of the struggle and thrown into jail with \$200,000 demanded as a bond. The CSU hall was bombed at Thorold, an organizer assaulted at Goderich, and seamen have been beaten up daily. It is significant that not one of Sullivan's armed thugs has been arrested or restrained by the police.

The methods the bosses are employing in their attempt to break the CSU should be carefully studied by every worker. They form a pattern of union-busting that will sooner or later be used by every company in Canada. This pattern is as follows:

1. The union is called "communist." In open defiance of provincial or federal labor laws, the company refuses to bargain.

2. The workers are locked out or forced out on strike. A few scissorbills amongst them are organized into a company union which then claims to represent all of the workers. The company union provides goon squads and strike breakers.

3. The provincial police and (or) the RCMP are called in to "maintain law and order"—in plain language to intimidate the workers, break their picket lines and force them into the scab outfit and back to work.

Immediate action by all of labor is required to break this pattern and to save the CSU and the UE local at Rogers-Majestic where a similar situation prevails (see story on p. 1). A conference of all CCL and AFL unions should be called to draw up a unified plan of moral and physical aid to the embattled unions. The entire forces of the labor movement must be rallied to combat police terrorism and company strike breaking plans. Only united action by the labor movement can stop the union busting drive in its tracks!

## THE FIGHT AGAINST CANCER

By MARY WOOD

Some 15,000 Canadian men and women will die of cancer this year, according to the Canadian Cancer



Institute. There is no disease so dreaded—not only because cancer takes so many lives, but because its victims suffer months or years of agony.

Minister of Health Paul Martin declared a year ago that "the only way to put the campaign against cancer on a proper basis is in a national way, through the combined forces of the dominion and provincial governments." Yet the government which spends hundreds of millions of dollars annually for war has not spent a

better wages, welfare funds, or so on.

"Men like John L. Lewis," I roared, "thwart the war on cancer because the 'individual citizen' must take these (health) problem to bed with him rather than leave them up to experts appointed by the government or some organization."

If they listen to him, the "individual citizens" will take their problems to the grave instead, but they do not worry Little. Better deal workers, than smaller profits for the mine owners.

Little blurted out his contempt for human life in language so raw that few will take him seriously. But is his attitude so different from that of the capitalist governments everywhere, which help the bosses maintain low wages, at callously refuse to allocate money for medical research to cure the ailments beset by poverty?

# Unions Support CCF In Important Elections

Organized labor is marshalling its forces for a CCF victory in the coming elections. While the date for the Alberta elections has not yet been set, a special conference of provincial Congress of Labor unions held in Calgary a few weeks ago called upon the workers and farmers to defeat the Social Credit government and all other members who support anti-labor Bill 91, and to put the CCF into power.

Premier Douglas of the first CCF provincial government has announced that the Saskatchewan elections will take place on June 24. The CCF was swept into power in 1944 and holds 47 of the 55 seats. In desperation, and in defiance of the official leadership's orders, various riding associations of the two old line capitalist parties, the Liberals and the Progressive Conservatives, are nominating only one candidate to oppose the CCF. How widespread the coalition will become is not yet clear.

The McNair Liberal government has also set New Brunswick's election date on June 24. The CCF had no representation in the last House but is laying plans for its first extensive campaign. It has announced that it will nominate "in the majority" of ridings.

But it is in Ontario where the CCF has nominated 80 candidates of a possible 90 that organized labor is really throwing its weight into the elections and behind the CCF. The Ontario Federation of Labor, the Ontario body of the CCL, is no longer just paying lip service to its endorsement of the CCF as the political arm of labor. The OFL is lining up its 135,000 members behind the CCF. It has set itself the objective of raising \$100,000 to finance the campaign.

Murray Cotterill, Political Action Director of the United Steelworkers has been travelling across the province for several weeks laying the frame-work of the campaign. Eighteen full-time trade union organizers are working on the political action drive. As the election campaign continues the OFL and affiliates plan to supplement this staff considerably. Various union leaders are addressing CCF election meetings and speaking in support of CCF candidates over the radio.

While the Ontario AFL Executive has cowardly declared its neutrality in the coming elections, many AFL locals are quietly and unofficially working for the CCF.

The three by-elections in Ontario and B.C. have been snowed under by the provincial elections. But the possibility of CCF victories appears to be very good.

By the time we go to press with the next issue of *Labor Challenge* the results from the Ontario provincial election and the three federal by-elections will be in. Our next issue will have extensive articles analyzing the returns and drawing their lessons. Those readers who have not received the last issue of the paper (Mid-May) which contains an extensive analysis of the issues at stake in these elections and expounds the Revolutionary Workers Party policy of critical support to the CCF, are urged to write in for a copy.





Isn't it wonderful? Finance Minister Abbott says we're having an unprecedented boom!"

## SWP Candidate Dobbs Speaks on NBC Network

The Socialist Workers Party's presidential campaign went into high gear on May 15 with the broadcast over the NBC national network. For a brief 15 minutes hundreds of thousands of American workers, and no doubt thousands of Canadian workers, heard Farrell Dobbs, Trotskyist nominee for President.

of the United States, outline the only realistic and effective program against capitalist war, Jim Crow, exploitation and repression.

For the first time in years, the genuine movement of Marxism and Leninism on the American continent broke through on a national scale the conspiracy of silence of the monopoly press and radio. Thousands of workers heard for the first time

that there is a movement that has a fighting program based on their needs, that is unstained by the crimes and treachery of Stalinism and Social Democracy and is worthy of their adherence.

James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary, one of the pioneers of the American Communist movement and a founder of world Trotskyism, opened the radio program with a brief introductory statement.

Comrade Cannon sketched in the historic origins of the SWP, its program and its goal. In the name of the SWP he saluted the recently held World Congress of the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky, leader with Lenin of the great Russian Revolution, and who was foully murdered by its hangman, Stalin.

"Trotskyism is a world wide movement which unites revolutionary

militants of all countries and all nationalities, of all races and colors in a common world organization for their emancipation from capitalist exploitation and oppression."

Comrade Cannon went on to outline some of the most significant contributions of Farrell Dobbs to the American socialist and labor movement; a leader in the great Minneapolis truckdrivers' strikes, secretary-treasurer of famous Local 544, international representative of the Teamsters Union, one of the 18 leaders of the SWP and Local 544 who served prison sentences for their defense of democratic trade unionism and opposition to the war.

### ANTI-WAR CANDIDATE

Farrell Dobbs then took the microphone to make his inspiring speech. He commenced with an attack on Wall Street's anti-labor drive and its preparations for war. He pointed out how this war can only result in a ruthless military dictatorship being thrust onto the American workers. The workers must struggle against war and the destruction of their rights by fighting the war-breeding capitalist system . . . for the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government and socialism. He exposed the Stalinist-supported Wallace movement as a fraudulent anti-war movement since it was not anti-capitalist . . . and the pacifist swindle of the Norman Thomas party. He called upon the workers to organize and stop this fatal plunge into war and dictatorship, to unite with the SWP, in the march towards socialism, peace and freedom.

## Trotskyists in Peru Persecuted by Govt.

By T. R.  
Special to Labor Challenge

LIMA, Peru, April 26.—The government is tightening up against our organization, the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) and is preparing to take measures against us. The first step was the imprisonment of Nelson Capelline, the mill-

tant miners' leader of the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party, Trotskyist) of Bolivia. Nelson Capelline was expelled from Bolivia (his native country) as a result of the defeat of the general strike at the end of 1947. After residing a few months freely in Lima, the Peruvian police arrested him, possibly in complicity with the government of Bolivia, under the accusation of being "an international agitator."

We know that the Peruvian police tried to make him reveal information about our organization, and in particular, about the identity of its leaders. Naturally, comrade Capelline, who didn't and couldn't participate in Peru because of illness, refused to fulfill this role of an informer.

Nevertheless, it appears that the police were able to find the desired information through other sources. Its first step against the POR was the imprisonment of Leoncio Bueno, editor of *Revolucion* (POR organ), Saturday, April 24.

Comrade Bueno was arrested in the factory where he works as a textile worker. He is being held incommunicado in police headquarters and we don't know his fate. Up to this date, we don't know exactly what the charges are against him. As is to be expected, the press . . . Stalinist, capitalist, and APRA, didn't say a single word about this police measure.

The arrest of Comrade Bueno must be considered as the first step in the government's anti-communist campaign. It doesn't surprise us at all that the Trotskyists should be the first to be affected by this campaign of the Peruvian bourgeoisie and Yankee imperialism. We know that the Yankee embassy itself has us numbered.

It is worthwhile to restate that the APRA, a petty bourgeois party, is the first to demand of the government "strong measures against communism." As an agent of Yankee imperialism, APRA attacks Stalinism furiously, but it attacks the revolutionary movement with much more fury.

APRA is engaged in anti-communist competition with the government and reaction, going as far as to accuse the government and reaction of being "agents of Russia," which is the height of nonsense. Their "basis" for the charge is that there are quite a number of Stalinists and fellow-travellers in the "municipals" appointed by the government.

Strange as it may appear, the press and government are preparing to accuse APRA of being a variant of "communism."

The Stalinists, notwithstanding their betrayals and their miserable role as agents of the government and reaction, will become victims of the anti-communism. But they (trying to find a basis of unity with these sectors) are designating the anti-communist campaign as a "mistake" or "prejudice." According to them there is no "communist danger," but there is an imperialist danger. They refuse

to recognize any other enemy than Yankee imperialism. That's how they capitulate before the native bourgeoisie and, through it, before imperialism itself.

We want to let workers everywhere know that our fate is very insecure. Prisons and concentration camps are awaiting us. We know that the government is preparing to send the "communists"—real ones and phony ones—to concentration camps in the Amazonic jungles.

06-01-2

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"The bourgeoisie operates with abstractions ('nation,' 'fatherland,' 'democracy') in order to cover up thereby the exploiting character of its rule. . . . The first step of revolutionary politics is the exposure of bourgeois fictions which poison the consciousness of the masses."

—Leon Trotsky.

06-01-3

## Too Hot to Handle

Did you ever see anyone handle a hot potato? Well, there's a hot potato being tossed around in Ottawa corridors and it goes by the name of oleo margarine. Housewives who are having to pay over 70 cents a pound for butter, if and when they can get it, are demanding the lifting of the ban on the manufacture and sale of margarine. Every M.P. in Ottawa has been studiously evading the issue as if it were laden with dynamite—and strange as it may seem, this little matter of oleo margarine is laden with dynamite.

A Gallup poll taken last month disclosed that 58 per cent of the voting population, including farmers, favored its sale, 13 per cent were undecided and 29 per cent were opposed. Medical authorities say it's healthful.

Well, what's wrong with this so-called free enterprise system? Why shouldn't the people be able to choose between butter and margarine instead of butter or nothing? The capitalist ban smacks of the regimentation that they lyingly attribute to socialism.

The dairy interests turned this spring's 12.4 million pound butter shortage into a pile of gold through their 11½ cent a pound profit gouge. They have a powerful lobby at Ottawa. But what makes oleo such a hot potato is the fact that the dairy monopolists control the vote of sections of the well-to-do farm population and this is an election year.

James Sinclair, Liberal M.P., who brought the embarrassing issue into the Commons, declared that the ban is "unconstitutional in law, economically unsound, socially reprehensible and violating the political principles of every party in the House."

The ban certainly violates the *avowed* political principles of every party. Yet no party has even dared to take a position on it. Not only the self-indicted defenders of Big Business, but the CCF, which declares itself to be the deadly opponent of the monopolists and the defender of the economic interests of the poor. No CCF M.P. and no section of the CCF press has had the guts to take a position on the margarine ban.

The Stalinist Labor Progressive Party gives a hand to both sides. In the *Pacific Tribune*, Tom McEwen scathingly attacks the defenders of the ban. The *Canadian Tribune* supports the ban within the frame-work of their Keep Canada Independent campaign. (Oleo ingredients would have to be imported from the U.S.)

Sinclair's bill, being a private member's bill, is destined to be talked out. The august and reactionary Senate, where Senator Hardy indignantly chastised his colleagues for "defending this . . . most vicious kind of class legislation," voted to maintain the ban. Had the Senate passed the reso-

lution, the matter would have been thrust onto the Commons for debate. Every party and every member would have had to take a stand. This time the Senate, erected by the Fathers of Confederation to check the elective and more representative House of Commons, not only came to the aid of the Liberals and the Tories, but incidentally saved the skins of the CCF.

## Wage Drive Bogs

The CCL-CIO third round wage campaign is becoming a shambles. The Wage Co-ordinating Committee set up by the CCL Executive has once again co-ordinated nothing.

A staggering blow at the wage campaign was struck when the treacherous Millard leadership forced through an 11½-cent offer at Stelco and ditched the 40-hour week. The Millard formula has been made the pattern at Dosco, Algoma and in steel fabricating.

Goodyear rubber workers, negotiating on the one at a time strategy adopted by the national leadership, have accepted the company's 10-cent offer that they decisively rejected only a month previously. This phoney strategy of separate and independent negotiations is paving the way for the same sort of miserable settlement at Goodrich, Dominion, and Dunlop.

Rogers Majestic, left high and dry by the cowardly UE leadership, is in grave peril as other employers take on the scattered UE locals for low wage settlements. The mighty UAW, that brought the haughty Ford bosses to their knees in 45-46, is entering into negotiations. G.M. workers in Windsor, Oshawa, and St. Kitts, are placing their demands but there is no disposition on the part of the leaders to adopt an industry wide strategy of negotiations and strike action.

The AFL leaders present an even sorrier spectacle of disunity and do-nothingness. The courageous seamen who have been locked out by Meisner and CSL are being bled white and their union imperilled while the AFL bureaucrats only give them their condolences.

Is there any wonder that under this bankrupt leadership the union ranks are growing demoralized?

This present sad state of affairs proves forcefully that the time is past when even the big national unions can singly challenge the huge, enormously rich and powerful corporations, aided and abetted as they are by all the strikebreaking paraphernalia of the capitalist state. The unions will have to unify their wage fights, practice solidarity and militancy in action, or they will suffer one catastrophe after another.

This is the policy that all the militants in all the unions must begin demanding. Convoke a conference of all labor, of all the unions both AFL and CCL, to organize a unified strategy of action on the labor front.



# LPP Jumps on Zionist Bandwagon

## TRAGEDY OF PALESTINE



Scenes like the barricaded streets above are commonplace now in Palestine. Arab and Jew are locked in conflict while Yankee and British imperialism feed the flames of war.

By PAUL KANE

The Stalinist LPP is on the Zionist bandwagon again. On May 16, the day of the proclamation of the Jewish state in Palestine, mass rallies were staged across the country. Over 20,000 packed a meeting in Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens sponsored by the United Zionist Council.

The Stalinists frantically and enthusiastically clutched onto the skirts of the parade that preceded the meeting. The Zionists big shots let them swell the throng, but excluded them from the platform. This was reserved for Zionists, Sir Ellsworth Flavelle, Senator Arthur Roebuck, Liberal M. P. Lt.-Col. David Croll, and various dignitaries of the Jewish church.

Flavelle appealed to "the responsible Jewish leaders . . . to suppress the lawless elements in their own ranks." Rabbis Perlzweig and Feinberg led prayers and the singing of various religious songs. Croll threw bouquets to "Canadian statesmanship that made possible the U.N. decision." . . . "remember the names of Rand, Pearson, Halsey, St. Laurent and the one above all who is responsible for Canadian foreign policy—the prime minister of this country, Mackenzie King." Stalinists Salsberg and MacLeod applauded.

This cold rebuff from the Zionist leaders hasn't fazed the Stalinists. It has only made them more ardent in their campaign of spreading Zionist illusions. When the Zionist leaders shout yea, Salsberg and Buck shout 10,000 yeas.

The Stalinists, it's true, are not Zionists of the ordinary stripe. They have a special mission to perform. They are busy providing a left cover to the Zionist leadership for all their unprincipled dickerings with Wall Street and Bevin, for their crimes against the Arab and Jewish masses and what is now developing into a tragic struggle which can only promise death and destruction for those remnants of world Jewry that managed to escape the clutches of Hitler's murder squads.

In their indecent haste to find favor with the Zionist bosses, they are dragging into the mire every tradition and principle of socialism. A special issue of the Stalinist Vochebnblatt was distributed to the Maple Leaf Gardens rally. It hysterically declares that "May 16, 1948, the day of the proclamation of the Jewish state, will go down in the annals of world history alongside such famous dates as . . . Nov. 7, 1917, the day of the Soviet Revolution."

As if there were even the slightest basis for comparison. November 7 marked the opening of a new era—the era of the socialist revolution. On that day the workers and peasants of Russia struck the first decisive blow at the world capitalist order and pioneered the path of the socialist transformation of society. Above all the Bolsheviks waged an untiring struggle against all forms of chauvinism, against imperialism and for the right of self determination of all oppressed national minorities. The subsequent degeneration of the workers' state at the hands of the traitorous Kremlin bureaucracy can never negate this.

May 16 saw the creation of the Jewish state carved out of Palestine by UN without consultation with the population. Israel is a capitalist state. Whereas the Soviets granted the land to those who tilled it regardless of nationality, and seized industry in the name of the people and placed its control and administration in their hands; the new Jewish state sanctifies the capitalist ownership of the oil refineries, factories, fruit ranches now in the hands of private capital. Jewish workers will now pay taxes to a Jewish government.

Jewish workers will now be dispossessed by Jewish landlords, Jewish strikers will now be beaten up by Jewish police.

The Vochebnblatt editorial continues: "this day will bring new hope and inspiration not only to Jews all over the world but to all people striving for national independence and democratic equality . . ." All peoples, we assume, would include the poverty-stricken Arab workers and peasants. What about their national independence and their equality?

In Palestine the Stalinists have got around this difficulty by the creation of two Communist Parties, one Jewish and the other Arabian. Incredible as it may seem, the former now supports the new Jewish state, the latter opposes it, both on the principles of national independence.

Buck and Salsberg trust to the weak memories of the Canadian workers to forget that they once strenuously opposed the very idea of a Jewish state in Palestine on the basis of the national independence of the Arab masses.

In their documents and statements the Stalinist hacks have tried hard to completely ignore the Arab masses who constitute the bulk of Palestinian population. Finally J. B. Salsberg condescended to deal with this aspect of the problem in an article in the Tribune, May 22. According to this unprincipled apologist for Zionism, the Arab peoples within the borders of Palestine are not opposed to, but are actually in favor of the Jewish state. "I further state without fear of contradiction that the Palestinian war of which you read in the press was caused by mercenary bands recruited outside the borders of Palestine and sent into the ancient land to provoke war."

What then about the 7,500 Arab population of Safadin in North Eastern Palestine who were forcibly evacuated? What about the thousands of Arabs who have flooded from Jaffa into Gaza, from Haifa into Acre? On the date of the newly proclaimed state it was estimated that more than 200,000 Arabs had fled their homes in terror. The Zionist expansionist policy has been based on discrimination between the Jews and the Arabs. Their policy of ousting of Arab labor and boycotting of Arab goods will reach its full flower under the Zionist state.

And if the facts themselves cannot be twisted sufficiently to justify support of Zionism, the Stalinist prostitutes are prepared to pander to the most backward religious prejudices. Stalinist MPP A. A. MacLeod opened a radio speech on Palestine on April 29: "Perhaps some of you have sat at Passover tables of Jewish friends and vividly recall the beautiful ritual during which the story of Israel's fight for freedom is related by the father to his children." He closed it: "Tomorrow night is Passover. As Jewish citizens gather around the festive table and the ancient songs of freedom are heard again, they will not sing alone . . . May next Passover see the Jewish state in Palestine well established and peaceful. As in ancient days, it has much of beauty, leadership and learning to give to the world."

The Stalinist LPP support of Zionism flows from an attempt to find a broader base in the population at all costs, hoping to throw this weight into the international game of checks and balances that Stalin is playing with his capitalist enemies.

It is reactionary and criminal because it ignores all the past lessons of the workers' struggles and thus paves the way for defeats and demoralization. It is proof again that the Bucks and Salsbergs are only capable of leading the workers from defeat to defeat. With its support of Zionism the LPP only adds another mark in its long list of crimes against the workers.

06-01-4



## Report on British Labor Party Convention

See page 3

# LABOR CHALLENGE

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# LABOR ROLLS UP VICTORY FOR CCF

## G.M. Settlement Breaks Stalemate In US Wage Fight

Granting of limited wage increases by General Motors and Chrysler Corporation appears to have loosened the log-jam of American Big Business opposition to any "third round" pay boosts. Three days after the G.M. settlement, Chrysler bowed to the 17-day strike of its 75,000 workers who spearheaded the UAW-CIO wage drive. Hard on the heels of the GM and Chrysler settlements leading corporations in the electrical equipment industry have taken steps to reopen negotiations with the CIO United Electrical Workers.

The current wage drive was the first serious test for the Walter Reuther administration in the auto union. Following the UAW convention in November, 1947 the new leadership stalled on the wage problem.

Last December, however, the powerful Flint locals adopted a wage program calling for a 25-cent per hour flat increase to restore purchasing power PLUS A COST-OF-LIVING ESCALATOR CLAUSE.

In January, the UAW International Executive Board felt impelled to give its answer to the wage problem by adopting demands for a 25-cent flat increase plus fringe concessions on insurance and pensions. The Board not only did not include a demand for an escalator clause, but they passed a motion specifically forbidding any local union from signing an agreement containing such a clause.

It soon became clear that there was no over-all unity or co-ordination of the major national CIO unions in the wage fight. Esch union was left to shift for itself. Reuther and the UAW leadership were content to wait for Murray to set the pattern with the U.S. Steel and thus pave the way for UAW agreements.

To demonstrate his servility to the boss class, Murray blandly announced, as he opened the steel wage negotiations, that regardless of the outcome, the union would respect its no-strike agreement. It was thus not at all surprising that



## Wins 22 Seats in Ontario Legislature; Elections for 3 Parliamentary Ridings

By DAVID WILLIAMS

Sweeping through most of the industrial areas of Ontario and ousting Tory Premier Drew from his own riding, the CCF was thrust forward this month by the organized labor movement. It increased its seats in the provincial legislature from 8 to 22. At the same time, it cleaned up three federal by-elections, increasing its Members of Parliament to 31.

Two of the by-elections, in Oshawa, Ontario, and Yale, B.C., were emphatic gains, although the third, in Vancouver Centre, was won with a smaller CCF vote than polled in previous elections.

There is no question that the CCF gains were a victory for organized labor. The triumphs in the industrial ridings of Toronto, Hamilton, Oshawa and elsewhere were the direct fruit of an energetic campaign on the part of the unions, in particular the CIO-CCL. The CCL has endorsed the CCF as labor's political arm each year since 1943, but this is the first time it has gone further than paper support.

## Duplessis Raid, Govt. Deportations Hit Civil Rights

Armed with a "warrant" issued under orders of Padlock-Law Premier Duplessis, the Montreal police raided the Stalinist bookstore on Montreal's St. Catherine Street last week. The thought-control cops "seized and confiscated" about \$1,000 worth of literature consisting of standard Marxist classics, Stalinist publications, recordings and copies of some of the world's great literature (Tolstoy, etc.).

with copies of that great document, Marx's Communist Manifesto 1848, police-sterile is placed on his private in- People's Song Book, be- special officer Paul Benoit 'd, it contained the words famous old workers' song, III." repressive raid follows last y's padlocking of the Stalin- language weekly Com-

Duplessis was driving the sto civil rights in Quebec, ing another plank onto the ie that Ottawa and Wall are building along the much 3,000 miles of "unguarded"

e Knott, U.S. born inter- organizer of the Inter- Union of Mine, Mill and Workers (CCLCIO), was from a negotiating table, under arrest, and deported. only recently been elected 12,000 members of the Port o and Sudbury locals to us chairman of their ne- committees in contract

## BEEF PRICES SOAR NEAR \$1 MARK AS PACKERS EYE U.S. MARKET

By R. NORTON

Leading the pirate crew of profiteers who have driven the cost of living to a record high, the meat packing corporations now threaten to soak us \$1.00 a pound for beef by July 1.

Between the first of May and the middle of June, they jacked up beef prices 25 to 30 per cent. Now they're out for another 25 to 30 per cent. The latest gouges, in arrogant disregard of the workers' needs, are the direct result of the capitalist government's assistance to the packing barons.

For some time, Minister of Agriculture Gardiner has hinted broadly that all bans on the export of livestock, livestock products and feed grains will be removed. This will mean up to the Canadian pack-

J. S. McLean, president of Canada Packers, brazenly told the Prices Investigation Committee hearing last month that the meat trust operates on the principle of grabbing all they can.

"We buy cattle as cheaply as we can and sell beef for as much as we can," he said.

And he endorsed the principle heartily with the added statement, "I have been in the packing business most of my life and I have more confidence today in the soundness of the competitive system than ever I had before." It brought Canada Packers a profit of 31 per cent before taxes, and 19 per cent after taxes, last year.

KICK THEM OUT!

The "Investigation" didn't worry

## PETRILLO CALL FOR LABOR UNITY

James C. Petrillo, preside the AFL Musicians' Union, the delegates at the union's annual convention in Ai Park, N.J., that no union strong enough to win a stri the face of the Taft-Hartley He said that many unions v be wiped out unless the CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods Mineworkers got together single organization.

He informed the convs that suits totalling nine m dollars had already been by employers against 101 unions.

To implement its policy on political action, the Ontario Federation of Labor (OFL) set out to raise a war-chest of \$100,000. Political action committees were set up in the industrial centres and many union organizers were made available for full-time campaign work.

Without this support, it is doubtful that the CCF would have made any substantial gains. It didn't hold its own in rural ridings in northern Ontario. In some areas its popular vote decreased despite the fact that the overall vote for the province showed a CCF rise from 395,708 in 1945 to 469,950 in 1948.

In Ontario the CCF won 17 new seats, mainly in Toronto, while dropping three seats in the north. It thus has a net gain of 14, giving it a total of 22 in the new legislature. While its advances are a sign of the political power of the organized workers, its defeats must be laid at the door of the CCF leadership. The capitalist parties were able to recoup these three seats because of the opportunistic and inconsistent policies of the CCF leaders.

In Fort William, for instance, the CCF vote this year dropped to 6,366. This was one-fourth below its 1945 poll, and still further below the total anti-capitalist vote cast in Fort William in 1945, when the CCF and the LPP drew a total of 9,368.

The riding of Kenora was lost with essentially the same pattern. In 1945 the CCF had won with 3,461 votes, while the Stalinist LPP (Continued on page 2)

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# LABOR CHALLENGE

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## Labor Rolls Up Victory For 22 CCF Candidates

(Continued from Page 1)

candidate polled 474. In 1948 the CCF lost, polling only 2,720 votes with no LPP candidate in the field.

The third seat the CCF lost was in Sudbury. Here the picture was somewhat complicated because the CCF ran against Carlin, who had won on their ticket in 1945 and this year was expelled by the CCF in a red-baiting maneuver. Both lost to a capitalist candidate, whose road was paved by the confusion created by the CCF. In 1945 Carlin had polled 13,627 votes and an LPP candidate 1,692. But this year the CCF took 5,114, Carlin got 7,462, 2,743 votes less.

In the overall picture the CCF reached new electoral heights. But the campaign marked a new low in the leadership's opportunism. The leaders have cut the guts out of the party's program and reduced it to a collection of mild social reforms and "good government" planks. There was not a word about socialism or even about nationalization, in its election literature. There were only promises, without even a statement as to whom the CCF proposed to tax to pay for higher pensions, etc. No mention of rich or poor, boss or worker; no fundamental demands of any nature.

The whole character of the campaign can be seen in the statements of the leaders. Bert Leavens, General Secretary of the Ontario CCF and victor in Toronto Woodbine, described himself as a "converted liberal," explaining "But the liberals have gone back on their principles, the CCF must take their place."

Provincial leader Jolliffe, pointing to Drew and the Tories as the main danger, held out an olive branch to the Liberals, promising that a CCF government in Ontario would "honestly and enthusiastically co-operate with the dominion government." Agnes McPhail, victor in York East, declared that "a balanced house is necessary for good government."

From beginning to end, the CCF spared no efforts to prove its "loyalty" and "purity" to the bosses. Its vitriolic red-baiting, even to the extent of throwing away a seat by expelling Carlin, was sickening to many militant workers, as the Windsor election showed. In this auto union centre, the CCF won only one of the four seats, and registered only negligible gains in Windsor-Sandwich and Walkerville.

It is not surprising that Windsor

ran counter to the general trade union vote. The CCF has lined up with the most reactionary elements in the UAW, and has been active in all red-baiting campaigns inside the union, thereby discrediting itself.

The labor movement by its active intervention on behalf of the CCF, shoved the CCF forward; the Windsor workers have shown that it will lose its working class support, if it continues its present course. The time for a decision is nearing.

Talk of coalition of the Tory and Liberal parties on a national scale, is in the wind. Frightened by the trade union support of the CCF, and frantically anxious to defeat labor, the Tories and Liberals are making practical election deals for the coming Saskatchewan elections. In many ridings, they will run a single candidate to oppose the CCF. This, of course, is nothing new; there are coalition governments in B.C. and Manitoba. But the trend toward capitalist coalition must inevitably increase, as the workers move toward independent political action. The class lines are sharpening.

Some of the CCF leaders look hopefully toward a closer rapprochement with the so-called "progressive" Liberals. Claire Gillis, CCF M.P. for Cape Breton South, told reporters after the election that if the CCF can win more than 70 seats in the next election, a Tory-Liberal coalition is inevitable. He added that he believes "left wing liberals like David Croll, Toronto Spadina, and Hon. Paul Martin, Minister of National Health and Welfare, and some of the young progressively minded French-Canadian liberals from Quebec will move into the CCF." (Toronto Star, June 9).

Does it sound strange for the "socialist" CCF to invite the Liberals into their ranks? The CCF was able to adapt itself to a coalition government with both the Tories and Liberals in Manitoba a few years ago. In its opportunist course toward the right, it limits its own demands to small reforms. It can easily find common ground with the dying Liberal party, as a last-ditch defender of capitalism.

The alternative is in the hands of the workers. Through the trade unions they must make the CCF their own party, subject to the control of the unions, fighting for their program and militantly opposed to both capitalist parties.

06-15-16

## FOR A UNITED LABOR CONFERENCE

### AN EDITORIAL

Labor is in for some tough battles. There is no doubt about that. Ever since the close of the war, labor has been taking it on the chin. Not only in that it has failed to keep up with the criminal price gouging of the profiteers and defend its standard of living, but the situation is much worse than that. And there is no use closing our eyes to it.

The Bay Street monopolists are plotting day and night how to smash the labor movement, how to crush the unions and enslave the working class. Ever since the great battles of 1946 when the workers with a mighty coordinated effort successfully turned back the savage onslaught of the bosses who were aided and abetted by every instrument at the disposal of the capitalist state—ever since then the bosses have been nibbling away here and chopping away there until the situation is now fraught with real danger.

True, the bosses have won no major battles—the workers have suffered no decisive or overwhelming defeats, but everything is building up. They have been sowing disunity and demoralization in our ranks with considerable success. They have been feeling their way out, testing their strength on weak and isolated groups of workers. They have been grinding and sharpening legal weapons with which to cut the heart out of the labor movement.

Last year they slapped vicious and oppressive anti-labor laws onto the powerful B.C. labor movement. When the workers rose in anger to do battle the bosses strategically retreated. They dealt crushing blows to the craft-paralyzed Typographical Union in Hamilton, Winnipeg, Ottawa and Vancouver. They slammed down far reaching anti-labor legislation on the weak and inexperienced Alberta and Prince Edward Island labor movement. Emboldened with success, their B.C. parliamentary lackeys have dared again to impose all the restrictive clauses of Bill 39 plus a few more for good measure.

Having tasted blood the bosses are now sinking their fangs into bigger prey. The shipping moguls have pounced on the Canadian Seamen's Union (TLC). Defying a government recommendation, ignoring a government conducted certification vote which rolled up 93 per cent for the CSU, and breaching a dozen clauses of the Shipping Act, the ship-

ping bosses are out to crush unionism on the Lakes. Not only has the government refused to enforce its own laws but it is giving every possible aid to the bosses. Provincial and Federal police and the courts are solidly lined up in a murderous attempt to intimidate the heroic seamen.

In the not so spectacular but no less important Rogers Electric strike at Leaside, the government, in collusion with the bosses, is establishing dangerous precedents against labor. Last week the Ontario Labor Relations Board declared a certification vote at the plant in a flagrant attempt to promote and encourage a wave of jurisdictional warfare. The UE, certified and on strike, will be compelled to contest a new certification vote with the company sponsored AFL Electricians Union. Scabs and recently hired strikebreakers will be eligible to vote.

Here, too, the government has poured in police to intimidate and smash the picket line and break the strike. On June 10 the courts handed down unprecedented one and two month jail sentences to six of the 26 strikers who face 59 counts.

The Bay Street reign of terror is mounting at the very moment that King is going to dump onto the floor of the House the anti-labor legal block buster that he has been preparing for months. At this session of the House the King government hopes to pass its version of the iniquitous Taft-Hartley Act—Bill 195.

This 74-sectioned Bill, sired by the Canadian Manufacturer's Association, is designed to smash the trade unions. The Code outlaws sympathetic strikes and boycotts. It provides \$300 fines for illegal strikes or strike votes. Clause 18 can make individual workers liable to fines or other penalties.

"No employee shall strike until the union has become entitled to bargain under the Act and conciliation procedures complied with." This clause shuts the door against strikes by newly organized unions fighting for recognition. Non-voters in certification votes will be registered as opposing certification. Not content with erecting these barriers, the Bill strikes a blow at amalgamated locals by requiring that such unions be certified only if all employers concerned agree.

(Continued on page 4)

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"Twenty-five years in the scales of history, when it is a question of profoundest changes in economic and cultural systems, weigh less than an hour in the life of man. What good is an individual who, because of empirical failures in the course of an hour or a day, renounces a goal he set for himself on the basis of the experience and analysis of his entire previous lifetime?"

—Leon Trotsky.

## For A United Labor Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

It excludes from bargaining agencies all employees whom the Board may declare to be in a confidential capacity.

What's there in it for labor? Is there any compensation for these and all the rest of the restrictions? David Croll's amendment compelling employers to institute the voluntary check-off, designed to sugarcoat the Bill, has already been rejected. Only a strait-jacket remains for labor.

Just as they failed to rally labor's forces behind the UE and CSU strikers, the cowardly trade union bureaucracy has done nothing to stymie Ottawa's Bill 195. They have attempted to ignore the anti-labor stew being cooked up at Ottawa. The CCL leadership's criticism has been directed only at the failure of the code to contain some concessions, and its "too limited scope." The TLC bureaucrats up until last week brazenly endorsed the code. Their criticism is limited to two minor points.

In fact a key factor in the monopolist's whole anti-labor strategy has been their knowledge of the nature and role of the trade union leadership. These labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, terrorized by the brutality of the bosses and frightened of the mighty latent power of the union ranks, have been steadily retreating before the onslaught. Yelping for mercy, its tail between its legs, the trade union bureaucracy is scurrying to cover. The Moshers, Bengoughs, Millards, and Jacksons have been giving up position after position in the hope of satisfying this avaricious monster, but in vain.

What can be done to halt the anti-labor juggernaut? Is labor too weak and unable to defend itself before its rush? Not at all! The workers in the unions are the most powerful force in the country. They are unbeaten. They have already demonstrated that they have the will and the power to stop monopoly's drive in its tracks.

What is necessary is that the union ranks rise in mighty protest against the do-nothingness of the leadership. Demand a conference of all labor, of all the unions both AFL and CCL to discuss the problems that this hour of peril presents . . . to map out and organize a unified strategy of action on the labor front. Rally labor's forces behind the UE and CSU strikers and against the anti-labor Bill!

The organized might of a unified labor movement can make short shrift of all the evil plans of Big Business.

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06-15-26

## Open The Doors

William H. Tuck, executive secretary of the International Refugee Association, has warned that 1,000,000 homeless refugees in Europe may not be "settled" for at least four years unless governments change their policies. "The refugee problem is not being solved because we (the IRA) have too little money, too few ships, and most important of all, too little Christian charity among nations." The trouble, he said, came of treating refugees merely as a commodity of labor.

To prove his point, Tuck exposed Guatemala's offer to accept 50,000 European refugees. Persons eligible must be less than 55 years of age. They are to be selected for agriculture and craft and must profess the same or related religion dominant in the country. This, of course, would exclude the Jewish D.P.'s. They must work for five years in clearing and farming in the remote Ixcán Valley. Wages will be 16 cents a day. They will be covered by armed guards to see that none escape.

This makes you indignant, doesn't it. But where does Canada, fourth on the list of refugee favouring countries and with vast unpopulated areas, fit into the scheme. Tuck reported that the King government "may" spend \$700,000 to settle 1,000 refugee families. Outside of this "may" the Canadian government has done nothing to aid the refugees but provide the apparatus for Big Business screening and handpicking of a few thousand for lumber camps, domestic service, etc.

To the Canadian government and Big Business too, the refugees are merely "a commodity" . . . labor. They are gone over like cattle. Only the youthful and those in first class health have been accepted. They have been screened for political and religious beliefs. Those not qualifying are dumped back to rot. Families are split up, dependents young and old left behind in the hell-holes.

D.P.'s who have managed to pass examination have related how they have had to lie and crawl to get over. "We were married about a year ago, I couldn't stay in Europe any longer. I told them I was single." Another tells how she lied about her education. "They will never take you in if they find you are educated."

The responsibility for this appalling state of affairs is the capitalist government's. But labor too has been derelict in its duty . . . in its failure to really demand that Ottawa remove all restrictions from D.P. entry and in its failure to insist that all aid be granted to the D.P.'s. The open door would be a beacon to Europe's refugees and would ease the pressure on the Palestine crisis—for today, Europe's Jews have no place else to go. The Labor movement must demand that Ottawa open the doors of this country to the refugees.

# The Indomitable Spirit Of German Trotskyists

By PAUL C. STEVENS

This week No. 4 of the mimeographed journal *Unser Weg*, organ of the Fourth International in Germany, reached our desk. Published "somewhere in the former Reich," the rich contents of this January, 1948 number are testimony to the

intense intellectual life of the German Trotskyists, who are rebuilding their organization against almost unbelievable material handicaps. Within its meagre 14 pages, *Unser Weg* manages to include an excellent analysis of "Dollar Diplomacy," a rounded study of the "Problems of the New Revolutionary Party in Germany," a keen criticism of the policy of the CP, SP and other parties toward the immediate questions confronting the German workers.

An especially inspiring example of the indomitable spirit of these Trotskyist fighters, who have gone through the hell of Hitler's concentration camps and today operate under the very noses of Stalin's murderous GPU, is an editorial entitled, "Through Victory and Defeat — On To The Fourth International." We quote the editorial in full:

"For a number of years the political leaders of the capitalists have been announcing triumphantly the decline of the political labor movement. They blare their slogan about the bankruptcy of Marxism, and attempt to lend it the appearance of a reasoned argument. The capitalists succeeded in putting up a barrier against the powerful proletarian mass movement following the first world war, which reached its peak with the victorious Russian Revolution. More than that, they succeeded in smashing the Marxist and Communist movement in the capitalist countries as an organized force; in unleashing a second, even vaster and more terrible world war; in concluding this war with an imperialist peace after stifling the beginnings of a mass movement for proletarian democracy."

## KNOWLEDGE OF PAST

This successful capitalist reaction began with Italian fascism and was later extended by German Nazism. The most conscious banner-bearers of the idea of socialism were subjected to the most brutal persecution. Many once devoted fighters in the working class struggle have gone astray in their aims and seek their salvation in the enterprises of the reactionary victors as tools of a fraudulent imperialist democracy. Relatively extensive and deep knowledge, great courage and strong determination is required to uphold the idea of irreconcilable class struggle in spite of all the defeats, catastrophes and betrayals.

"In this situation knowledge of the past history of social struggles, and of the labor movement especially, is particularly valuable.

"Looking into the past teaches us that the ruling classes celebrated many a victory over the toiling masses, but that after every reactionary triumph the workers have arisen more mightily and more powerfully than ever before. Every

time the proletariat formed its ranks anew. Every time, on an historically higher basis.

"The defeats of the spontaneous movements of the machine-wreckers were followed by the revolutions of 1848. The lesson of the impossibility of these bourgeois democratic revolutions to go through to the end led to the creation of the First International. The crushing of the Paris Commune, which showed the inadequacy of the First International, was followed by the creation of the great German labor movement as the core of the Second International. After the failure of the Russian social-revolutionary (Narodnik) movement, came the first uprising of the Russian proletariat in 1905. It showed that the period of revolutions was far from ended.

"In this period the Russian proletariat developed new forms of struggle adapted to the new epoch of imperialism. These were: first, the Bolshevik party; second, the mass strike and third, the Soviets.

"This first big offensive of the Twentieth Century was beaten down by the counter-revolution. The defeat and the failure of the parties of the Second International to absorb the lessons of 1905 led to their internal disintegration and to the first imperialist world war. But this war ended in the first successful proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917, which stirred into action the oppressed of the entire world.

## WORLD PARTY

"The defeats of the labor movement in the period between the two world wars led to the isolation and degeneration of the first workers' state, to the victory of Fascism and to the Second World War. And out of this deep defeat there arises now, not merely as a further development, but as the highest development of the combat organization of Marxism—the Fourth International as the organizer of the proletarian world revolution. It is no longer a sum of national parties, but the world party of the victory of the proletariat.

"From this past we who fight under the Fourth International draw courage for the heavy tasks of the present, and our absolute certainty of victory in the future. The lessons of the past are the basis and the tools of our present activity. They give us the conviction that our cadres in the Fourth International are a link in the historic process of the struggle for socialism, which must in the end lead to the realization of the victory of the working class, in spite of all the defeats and betrayals. This victory will decide once and for all the alternative 'Socialism or barbarism' and smash all the fond hopes of the capitalists for the bankruptcy of Marxism."

06-15-3

# LPPers: Examine the Tito Affair

By PAUL KANE

The Stalin-Tito rupture has added fuel to the turmoil and confusion that has been smoldering in the ranks of the Labor Progressive Party and above all its Croatian periphery.

On June 28 the Cominform attack on Tito and the Yugoslav Communist Party hit the press. But the July 3 issue of the *Canadian Tribune* told the startled and anxious ranks of the LPP nothing. The party leaders assured the readers that "rather than use the garbled versions of the statement of the Communist Information Bureau . . . which are appearing in the daily press, the *Canadian Tribune* will await the receipt of official English text of the pertinent documents."

No sooner had the Cominform charges against the once idolized Tito and Yugoslav Party been made public when all the leaders of the Stalinist parties throughout the world shouted amen and screamed their undying servility to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But it was not until July 7 that the LPP National Executive issued a word on this world shaking development.

In the July 10 issue of the *Tribune* the LPP published "the pertinent documents." According to the LPP bureaucrats, the "pertinent documents" are a statement by the National Executive, a partial text of the Cominform ukase, and an article by Tim Buck. The Buck article slavishly follows the Cominform charges and declares that "every Communist must agree that the position taken by the Information Bureau in its resolution is correct."

But one of the pertinent documents in judging the case is missing. What do Tito and the Yugoslav CP have to say to Moscow's charges? There is not a word in the *Tribune*. Just as the LPP bureaucrats went down the line in the fight against Trotskyism, the purging of Spector and MacDonald, the whitewash of the Moscow Frame-up Trials; just as they answered the Kremlin's bid for the setting up of Red Trade Unions, then Popular Fronts, opposition to World War II and then unbridled support of World War II and Mackenzie King, so they servilely toe the line on the Yugoslav ex-communication.

The leaders of the Cominform parties judged the Yugoslav Party

on the basis of unilateral accusations brought against it by the Russian Communist Party without it even being able to make known its point of view. In the same way Buck and company demand that the LPP rank and file judge the Yugoslav Party.

But why Buck's delay in joining the jackal chorus? Here we must look into the current situation in the LPP's Croatian periphery. The Croatian groupings are in a bad way. Many of the staunchest and most Stalinized elements are no longer in the party. Last year 1,260 Canadian Yugoslavs returned to Yugoslavia. The very day that the Cominform bureaucratically read the Yugoslav party out of its ranks 500 more set sail on the *Radnik* from Montreal.

At least twenty-five persons who were in last year's crusade are known to have returned to Canada. Amongst them are workers who are well known as leaders in the LPP, including Franca Brozovich, former president of the League of Canadian Croats.

As late as the June 12 issue, the *Tribune* published songs of praise of Tito and conditions in Yugoslavia. That issue reproduced a letter from a prominent Stalinist who had returned to Yugoslavia. She wrote "we live just like the people in Rosedale (a wealthy residential district in Toronto—Editor), maybe even better. That's the way working people live in Yugoslavia." But despite the *Tribune* the truth is leaking out. It has been coming out of Yugoslavia in bits and snatches in personal letters. These bits and snatches have been confirmed by some of those who have returned.

Unlike the *Tribune*, under pressure of the fact that many Yugoslavs know better, the Stalinist foreign language press earlier changed its line on conditions in Tito's land. *Novosti News* May 13 stated: "We have said earlier and

we now say again, in Yugoslavia there are not the things that are over here."

Returnee Tom Dragicevich said it was not until he returned to Yugoslavia that he found segregation of classes to the point where there are stores where the ordinary workers cannot enter. Another returnee relates how he found Tito, "the little white dove," to be the leader of a ruthless bureaucracy which lives on the fat of the land and defends its vast privileges through a dread secret police apparatus (the OSNA).

The party leadership passed an official ruling prohibiting the returnees from going back into the Yugoslav movement. Three or four who were members of the Canadian South Slav Youth Federation have been permitted to rejoin but only under the harshest conditions; 1) that they must not "slander" the present Yugoslav regime or any of the state organs. 2) that they make no statements here of Yugoslav conditions.

The confusion and disillusionment wrought in the ranks of the LPP periphery by these accounts of the Tito dictatorship and conditions in Yugoslavia, has compelled the leadership to make drastic retrenchments in its press. Up until last month there was a Croatian thrice weekly, a Serbian twice weekly, and a Slavonian weekly paper. All three papers have been amalgamated into the twice weekly *Jedinstvo*.

The rupture between the Yugoslav and Soviet bureaucracy coupled with the slavish adherence of the LPP leadership to the charges against the Yugoslav CP, will come as a rude blow to many Croatian LPP rank and file. It should cause them to re-evaluate Stalinism, and to examine Trotskyism, the program of the Revolutionary Workers Party, the genuine expression of Marxism-Leninism.

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# Few Labor Candidates in Quebec Election

## Special to Labor Challenge

MONTREAL, July 11. — A new provincial government will be elected July 28 in Quebec. But in the second largest industrial province, the working people will have little chance to send their own representatives to the legislature.

The old parties, Liberals and Union Nationale, plus the Union of Electors (Social Credit) will have candidates in practically all constituencies. The CCF will probably have candidates in less than half a dozen ridings. This is a big retreat from 1944 when the CCF contested almost five times that number.

Maurice Duplessis, shrewd reactionary, Premier for the past four years, has a long record of strikebreaking and is the father of the infamous Padlock Law. He is leading the campaign of the Union Nationale. This party is the equivalent of the Conservative Party elsewhere in Canada, and in fact grew out of the old Quebec Conservative organization in the depression. Its main base is in the rural areas which, although they contain a minority of voters, elect the majority of the legislators. The U.N. program is its usual demagogic appeal to French Canadian nationalism, plus the red bogey. The Liberals, the other main

capitalist party, have their chief base in cities. Their strongest card is the possibility that the federal Liberal Party will pick Louis St-Laurent to succeed Mackenzie King. While competing with Duplessis to prove that they are the real champions of the struggle against communism, they demagogically claim to be the defenders of labor.

It will be remembered that it was the Liberals and not the U.N. drafted and passed Quebec's notorious anti-labor laws. They never made a move to wipe out the Padlock Law during their 1940-44 term of office. This law prevents Labor Challenge and other working class papers, from being publicly sold or distributed in Quebec.

Both the old capitalist parties in Quebec defend the anti-labor laws. These laws are based mainly on the theory of corporativism (originated by Italian fascism), actively pushed by the Catholic Syndicats (Catholic Trade Unions) and the wealthy and powerful Catholic Church in Quebec.

The Union of Electors is if anything even more reactionary than the two old capitalist parties. Its program is a mixture of anti-Semitism and Social Credit utopianism with strong praise for clerical fascism and Franco's Spain. The

U of E will probably draw a large vote, and much of that despite its anti-labor program, although the unions have made big organizational gains in recent years in Quebec. The reason for this is that it will be in most ridings the only alternative to the two old capitalist parties.

The CCF leadership, because of its cowardly and conservative policies, will not be able to capitalize on the growing disillusionment with the old capitalist parties in Quebec. Because the CCF bureaucrats, like their Social Democratic counterparts elsewhere, do not recognize the national question, they have not been able to grow among the French Canadian masses. 80 per cent of the province's population. The CCF trade union leaders, generally speaking, are abstaining in the present elections. True to typical reformist form, they claim that now is not the time to endorse the CCF in Quebec. In other words they are objectively helping the old capitalist parties.

Of course both the U.N. and the Liberals have found a number of trade union fakers and mis-leaders to help them. The scab-herder and former Stalinist J. A. "Pat" Sullivan is speaking on the air for Duplessis, along with the labor racketeer Paul Fournier of the

AFL. Other so-called labor leaders in the CCL and TLC are working openly or under cover for the Liberals.

The Stalinist Labor Progressive Party, which recently suffered a split, losing a large section of its French-Canadian membership, is running only one candidate. This is in a Montreal riding composed mostly of foreign-born and Jewish voters. The main slogan is "Beat Duplessis," which translated into plain language means "Vote Liberal."

The Quebec section of the Revolutionary Workers Party is not yet powerful enough to run its own candidates. It will give critical support to the CCF and genuine independent labor candidates on July 28.

## Windsor Readers

Contact LABOR CHALLENGE  
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## Montreal Readers

Contact LABOR CHALLENGE  
BOX 1482, MONTREAL, QUE.  
Publications in French and English

## 4TH INTERNATIONAL WORLD MANIFESTO

**Against Wall Street and the Kremlin!  
For the Program of the "Communist  
Manifesto!"**

**For the World Socialist Revolution!**

**Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Fourth  
International to the Exploited Masses of the World**

The Second World Congress of the Fourth International, meeting in Paris on the hundredth anniversary of the Communist Manifesto, with representatives from 33 sections attending, considers it necessary to give, on the basis of its communist ideas, aims and tendencies, its answers to the problems now facing the revolutionary vanguard and humanity as a whole.

After living through two world wars, an unprecedented economic crisis and terrible experiences under dictatorial regimes, humanity is now confronted with the threat of a new economic catastrophe and a new world conflagration.

The present situation is the inevitable culmination of the capitalist system. With unequalled clarity, the authors of the Communist Manifesto a century ago described the laws of motion in capitalism. They revealed its tendency toward unlimited expansion, and its need to refashion the whole world in its image. Today capitalist production has penetrated the most backward countries of the globe. It has unloosed miraculous productive forces. It has constantly revolutionized its own technique, substituting the combustion motor and electricity for steam, and breaking down matter to feed its insatiable need for energy.

Capitalism has made these advances between economic crises, by means of its own contradictions. Having previously destroyed the former modes of production, the industrial bourgeoisie, as it advances, continually destroys the most inefficient of its own.

After completing the entire cycle of its existence, capitalism has begun to reject the very principles attendant at its birth. The merging of trusts and cartels into veritable industrial and banking monopolies eliminates free competition within a country and even between countries in many branches of industry. Just when its feverish advance appeared free of all obstacles, capitalist expansion imposed artificial restrictions upon production. Having reached its natural limit toward the creation of the world market, all its explosive force turns upon the bourgeoisie itself. Then the system begins to decline, as the two authors of the *Manifesto* predicted.

Economic crises succeed one another at an ever faster pace, paralyzing the life of whole nations, and reducing entire layers of society to complete ruin. Social crises convulse all countries, undermining governments and precipitating revolutions, counter-revolutions and civil wars.

The immense technical achievements are diverted from general use or utilized exclusively for destructive ends. The sudden spurts in production which periodically still take place no longer enrich but rather impoverish the vast majority of mankind. The perfecting of the division of labor on a world scale shatters the world market. The evolution of history completely changes its course. Instead of bringing civilization to the backward peoples of the world, capitalism in its decline destroys the political conquests which marked its rise in the more advanced countries. A fetter upon human progress, the bourgeoisie becomes a reactionary force in every sphere.

War epitomizes all the destructive and barbaric features

of declining capitalism and dominates all human activities today. Technique, science, industrial production, politics and literature, all place themselves more and more exclusively in its service.

### **Danger of Total Destruction**

The global character of the imperialist war is derived today from the world character of capitalist production and its crises. The war of 1914-18 was still essentially a European war. Referring to the Second World War, which left the three Americas as well as large sections of Africa and Asia intact, Trotsky stated in 1938 that the South Pole alone would be excluded as a base of operation. It is profoundly significant that the present strategic preparations for a Third World War point to a desperate struggle for the domination of the Antarctic continent. In such a war no people or continent would be spared, no national capital would be left intact, not a single oasis of civilization would be overlooked. The unchained forces of destruction would destroy in a few years what it has taken centuries of labor to build and would cover the whole globe with flaming ruins.

Mankind is horror-stricken at the rapidity with which the military alliances for the next carnage are being forged even before the last war is formally ended by a peace treaty. This horror is focused upon the atomic bomb in particular. Just as the war seems to divest itself of all human control, and follow its own sinister logic, independent of the activity of thinking human beings, so the innumerable implications of the atomic bomb elude the plans of both experts and diplomats, upsetting the calculations of generals as well as of the stock market sharks. Never has man stood so aghast before one of his own creations, never has the worker been dominated by so formidable an object, never has living labor been so subjugated by dead labor. But at the same time that atomic energy leads capitalism with all its contradictions to the total destruction of human civilization, it also opens up the perspective of a new epoch of peace and well-being in a society ruled by the working class.

Intellectuals and petty bourgeois scholars are seeking a palliative for this permanent threat, which imposes a reign of terror over mankind, in the form of a "world government." For some this proposal is simply a theoretical justification of Wall Street's thirst for power. Others are sincerely striving for a magic formula to control the forces of destruction constantly unleashed by declining capitalism. Neither of them grasps the chain that links the global war with the decline of capitalism.

Only production for war is capable today of creating new outlets for capital, which is stifling in its own world market. War is nothing but the special mechanism with which the declining bourgeoisie tries to surmount its own contradictions. Far from succeeding, it can only provoke new contradictions while striving to eliminate the old ones. Far from eliminating competition, the monopolies give it a more sharpened form, manifested as much in the struggle between the monopolists themselves as in the competition between the middle men, who are being ruined in the process. Far from ending international conflicts, the epoch of the Big Four, Three or Two aggravates the conflict between the dominant powers.

To eliminate Germany and Japan as independent powers, American imperialism had to permit the rise of Russia and the revival of previously eliminated countries like France and China. To fight Russia effectively, it will be obliged to return independence to Germany and Japan tomorrow. This is not a question of errors on the part of Roosevelt or of

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the Machiavellian nature of MacArthur; but expresses the fundamental laws of capitalism. A single world power like

## Notice to Our Readers

This issue of Labor Challenge presents the World Manifesto of the Fourth International which was adopted by the Second World Congress held in Paris last month. As it is a document of vital importance to the Canadian workers the editors have decided to publish it in full. It will be completed in the next issue. During the months of July and August Labor Challenge will appear as a monthly. Subscription expiration numbers will be advanced so that all subscribers will receive their full number of issues.

the United States which hypothetically might survive all others, could only leave the globe in total ruins, a prey to endless convulsions in national and colonial conflicts. "The war to end all wars," proposed by Burnham today, like the war led by Wilson yesterday, will not lead to Pax Americana, but to general chaos.

Just as capitalism at its zenith was incapable of controlling the forces of production, so in the period of its greatest decline it is equally incapable of controlling the forces of destruction. In the period between the two stages, it has dug its own grave and created its own gravedigger—the working class. The revolutionary struggle of the latter is the struggle to give conscious direction to society, as opposed to the blind forces which are inevitably dragging the capitalist world into global war. The fate of capitalism is already decided; its knell has already sounded. But if it is not to vanish into atomic dust, its fall must give way to the world communist revolution.

For over a century, capitalism was an expression of the most brutal negation of all human relationships. Its rule has been extended solely through the mechanism of its laws of production. The state was cherished by the capitalists insofar as it interfered as little as possible with the free functioning of these laws. All servitudes and all freedoms were, respectively, imposed and realized in the one freedom of trade—the worst of human bondages.

But this very mechanism of the laws of capitalist production which permitted the bourgeoisie to deny all human relationships so long as its merchandise played a revolutionary role, compelled it to make desperate efforts to modify the operation of these laws as soon as they became an obstacle to the development of the productive forces. Born under the sign of "laissez faire," capitalism now clings to the most parasitic kind of regimentation. It came to power in fierce struggle against absolutism, but today seeks the establishment of the totalitarian state.

Living for four decades on the narrow ledge between collapse and prosperity, terrified by constantly renewed threats of revolutionary overthrow, sensing in their balance sheets the repercussions of the disintegration of their economy, the monopolists inevitably must subject all spheres of social activity to their rigid control. The state, whose progressive disappearance the liberal attorneys of capitalism celebrated a century ago, is becoming a monstrous machine controlling men before birth and coining their corpses into gold after death. Liberal parliamentarianism and imperialist democracy are succeeded by the epoch of totalitarian dictatorship.

## Totalitarian Nature of Capitalism

Through the continually expanding mechanism of the capitalist state, the monopolists subject all economic life to their rigid control. By forced trustification, state distribution of raw materials, state control of credit, and nationalization of certain inefficient branches of industry, they impose their autocratic control upon the bourgeoisie itself as well as on the petty bourgeoisie. By incorporating the trade unions in the state, by forced arbitration, the restriction or total suspension of the right to strike, company unions, corrup-



tion, spies, and terrorism, they try to bridle the labor movement where they do not succeed in destroying it altogether. Through control of the educational system and with the assistance of their obliging ally, the Church, they try to prevent the development of class consciousness in working class children and to mold them for their own sordid interests. The press, the movies, and the radio have become gigantic institutions for molding public opinion, that is, for deceiving and corrupting the public for the benefit of the monopolists. They do not stop at enrolling the doctor, the lawyer, the poet, and the scholar as wage workers. They also dictate to them their own concepts of public health, law, literature, and science, stifling cultural life under the weight of their social conservatism. Rising capitalism reduced human values to exchange values. Declining capitalism crushes them under the heavy boot of its totalitarian police.

The totalitarian character of present-day capitalism shows itself in finished form in the fascist dictatorship. Organizing the desperate and impoverished middle classes, and utilizing all the crude age-old prejudices, German monopoly capitalism built a barbaric state which instituted the assassination in cold blood of seven million prisoners in concentration camps. But, as the Fourth International predicted, the "war to end fascism" has itself led to the introduction of totalitarian methods in the remaining democratic countries. The inability of the British Labor Party to solve the social crisis by miserable reforms, is throwing thousands of petty bourgeois into the arms of fascist demagogues. Under the leadership of Attlee, Bevin and Morrison, the British government, so proud of its liberalism inside the country, dismisses scientists suspected of communist sympathy. The penetration of military men in the main government posts in the United States, the close fusion of the "Sixty Families" and the "Brass Hats" in the diplomatic apparatus, the anti-Communist hysteria, the spy scares, the reactionary offensive of the church even within the trade unions—all these phenomena mark the progress of the totalitarianization of the capitalist state in the United States. What remains of bourgeois democracy in the different countries takes on an increasingly rotten and putrid form, with generals and adventurers in the service of Big Capital invited in to help give it the finishing blow.

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## Organization of Bloody Chaos

The totalitarianization of capitalism is the clearest proof that the social contradictions are henceforth incompatible with the "normal" realization of capitalist profit. Far from signifying a new stage of capitalist stabilization, it is the most violent expression of the death agony of this system.

Beneath its leaden crust, all the forces of decomposition within capitalism are continually at work. The system reels from social explosions which are leading to an international conflagration. The "highest" stage of capitalist organization is revealed as the organization of bloody chaos, which places the communist revolution on the order of the day.

Germany and China are mirrors in which humanity can see its fate if capitalism continues to exist.

Germany today has ceased to be a political, economic and social entity. With five provinces amputated, its body is divided into four zones of occupation. Its cities are in ruins, its fields impoverished, its inhabitants have taken to the roads by the millions to escape hunger or fear. Its economic structure is broken down and its national wealth destroyed or removed from the country; its labor force is pauperized and its trade paralyzed.

Scarcely 20 years ago, in spite of its defeat in the war and the crushing of the revolution that followed, Germany still possessed the most powerful industry, the most rationalized agriculture, the most highly skilled labor, and the most extensive trade on the European continent. On three occasions the German working class clearly wanted to take the

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fate of the nation into its own hands. Its seizure of power would have permitted the peaceful alliance of German technique with Russia's vast economic resources. The barriers which prevented the constructive use of its enormous productive power would have burst asunder. Devoted mainly to the satisfaction of human needs, this power would have ushered in an epoch of peace and well-being on the old continent. But on each occasion, an incompetent or treacherous labor leadership uselessly wasted the magnificent fighting energy of the German working masses. Exhausted after 15 years of futile effort, the workers were finally delivered without a struggle into the clutches of the Nazi dictatorship. The bourgeoisie then organized the powerful German economic machine for its own greedy purposes and developed it to such formidable and explosive strength that it finally buried all Germany in ruins, while overturning all Europe and sowing devastation in every country.

China has been floundering for two decades in the convulsions of an aborted revolution. To the innumerable victims of natural catastrophes are added the million of victims of social cataclysms. Wars, civil wars, insurrections, and punitive expeditions continually ravage this vast country. The old handicraft industry is falling more and more into ruins, but modern industry fails to grow. Usury devours the harvests, but capital fails to build roads. Inflation ruins the cities, but the landless and starving peasants continue to pour into them by the thousands. The government posts are offered to the highest bidder, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek exploits the national economy as if it were a family enterprise. Ruin, stagnation and decay are to be seen everywhere.

In the crucible in which the new Chinese society took shape, under the shock of imperialist penetration, a young industrial proletariat came into being which rapidly acquired a communist consciousness. Supported by tens of millions of poor peasants wanting emancipation, the workers had a remarkable opportunity to overturn the whole rotting structure of Chinese society, and at the same time, rid the country of the domination of foreign imperialism and of the national bourgeoisie. By unifying the country and rationally utilizing its immense national resources, the Chinese revolution would have been the signal for revolt throughout the entire colonial world, and would have sounded the death-knell of

imperialism in all countries. Thus humanity would have been spared the Second World War and its disastrous consequences. But the Stalinist leadership caused the defeat of the Chinese revolution, so rich in promise, and thus condemned the country to an epoch of endless convulsions, while the living forces of the nation decayed.

In Germany and China are to be seen the horrible effects of the destructive forces unleashed by declining capitalism. While it reduces the most advanced and civilized nations to a state of brutish barbarism, it also bars the backward peoples from the road of progress. During the rise of the bourgeoisie, the advanced countries mirrored the future of the backward countries. Today Germany and China mirror the fate of whole continents if society does not free itself from the yoke of the decadent bourgeoisie.

## Perspectives of American Revolution

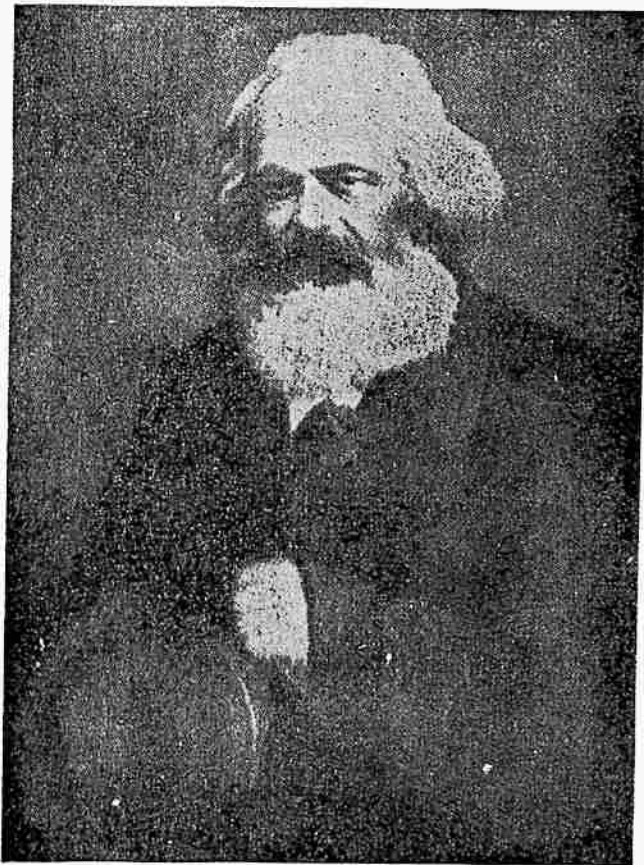
If all the decaying tendencies in contemporary society seem concentrated in Germany, all the unspent powers of resistance to declining capitalism seem to be concentrated in the United States. While the American bourgeoisie emerged immensely enriched from two world wars, the old European continent was impoverished by the wars. The ruin of the European nations resulted in an unprecedented expansion of Yankee industry, agriculture and finance. The United States holds two thirds of the world's gold and capital investments today; half of the world's commerce passes through her gates. The Yankee dollar dominates the stock markets, the Yankee air force controls the heavens, and the Yankee navy rules the seven seas. From Nanking to Paris

and from Athens to Rio, governments can maintain themselves thanks only to American credits. U.S. bankers divide up Latin America, while American oil companies buy up Arabian Sheiks. American military advisers direct the armed forces in Turkey and Greenland, and American merchants mete out the rations for Rome and Tokio. The Pope and the British Labor Government, the Franco dictatorship and the Australian democracy vie with one another for Wall Street's favors and the White House blessings. American films, dances, books and canned goods determine the mode of living in all countries.

But if the power and wealth of the United States are carved out of the stagnation and decline of the rest of the capitalist world, this decline in turn reacts irrevocably against the United States. The American bourgeoisie is today in danger of suffocating from its own wealth in the midst of a world dying from want. The entire planet does not suffice as a market for American industry. Wall Street is affected by every shock in every part of the world. It is difficult to believe that less than ten years ago the American bourgeoisie was still seriously discussing isolationism. Today the Italian elections, the trouble in Palestine and the strikes in Japan have become vital questions for American imperialism. Just as monopoly capitalism tends to totalitarianize the life of a nation, so the dominant imperialism increasingly strives to Americanize the world. "One world or none"—these words of a politician mean, above everything, the ultimate transformation of the world crisis into an American crisis.

American economy, politics and culture show all the signs of an approaching crisis. The terrible burden of public debt devours the nation's reserves. A raging fever of inflation, speculation, and unproductive investments, which always precedes a severe financial crisis, has gripped the nation. The decrease in profits will soon put a brake on production, which in turn will experience a decline as violent as its previous rise was unparalleled. Moreover, the crisis of the two-party system, the slow political development of the workers' movement, the growing influence of the Catholic Church, the pro-fascist tension charging the atmosphere (heightened chauvinism, anti-communism, race prejudice) forecast a complete overturn in the next ten years of the traditionally accepted concepts of American politics. Just emerging from their provincialism, the American imperialists find themselves confronted with the task of protecting capital throughout the five continents. Their enormous wealth

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Karl Marx

can never compensate for their manifest lack of political experience. British imperialism was able to maintain world supremacy through economic power alone. American imperialism is today obliged to equip mercenary armies in every country. The British capitalists, in their period of ascendancy, were able to corrupt their own working class movement with crumbs from their world profits. But Yankee imperialism in the period of capitalist decline cannot establish world domination without completely militarizing its own country and housebreaking its own proletariat. That is why the world offensive of American imperialism serves, at the same time, to educate the American proletariat in world politics. The forces liberated by the American crisis will line up in direct opposition to Wall Street's imperialist policy. The American working class will find itself for the first time face to face with its communist destiny.

The American bourgeoisie, concentrating the world's most powerful industry between New York and California, has created a numerically very large and highly skilled working class. The U.S. proletariat faces a stormy development that will make up for the historic backwardness of its labor movement. Under the whip of the great crisis of 1929, the working class made a formidable leap ahead, and attained a very high level of trade union consciousness. With the magnificent rise of the CIO, the American trade union movement became the most powerful in the history of capitalism. Under the whip of the next economic crisis, the consciousness of the American workers will make a new leap forward and will acquire political consciousness. The politicization of the American working class movement will be the most explosive and the most threatening that capitalism has known since the Russian Revolution. This development confronts American capitalism from now on. To prepare themselves for boldly taking over the leadership of this movement is the duty of the American Trotskyists. The absence of a strong reformist and Stalinist tradition provides them with an un-

usual opportunity. The country which today concentrates within itself the whole capitalist development will tomorrow give the revolutionary movement its highest expression. The sweep of American imperialism throughout the world will surely cause the American revolution to be the signal and the motive force of the world revolution tomorrow.

### Role of the U S S R

Today one country alone stands up against American imperialism. That country is the Soviet Union. Soviet wealth is shut off from U.S. imperialist control and Soviet citizens are not subject to its exploitation. The old, decaying empire of the Czars has been swept away. In its place has risen the Soviet Union, the second greatest world power.

If a historical justification of the October Revolution is still required, suffice it to compare the fate of Russia with that of China! The history of the last 30 years has demonstrated the extraordinary solidity of the new social relations resulting from this revolution as compared with the uncontrollable centrifugal forces which have accumulated in all capitalist countries. The superiority of the planned economy has been expressed not alone in terms of steel, coal and concrete, as Trotsky said, but it has also been proved on the battle field against a concentration of the entire capitalist power of Europe.

At the same time, however, history has shown that within the framework of these social relations, so superior to capitalism, degeneration and reaction have grown to a fearful extent. All spheres of Soviet life are today infected by the bureaucracy.

Its frauds, its parasitism, its embezzlements impose increasingly intolerable burdens upon collectivized production, constantly reducing the rate of accumulation of the country's basic capital funds.

As the greed and appetites of the bureaucratic upstarts grow, the social inequalities and the privileges arrogated by a tiny minority become more and more accentuated. The Bonapartist dictatorship replies to the growing social tensions with the most savage police terror, chaining the workers to the factories, crushing peasant resistance in blood, and liquidating considerable layers of the bureaucracy itself by wholesale purges.

Amid the misery and degradation of the masses, the bureaucracy has revived all the customs the revolution had abolished. Where the October Revolution had introduced a Spartan equality, a revolutionary devotion and sacrifice for the benefit of the community, the Soviet bureaucracy has installed titles, uniforms, gold braid and the sordid spirit of greed.

In place of proletarian internationalism it has substituted an infamous mixture of Great Russian nationalism and mystical Pan-Slavism. The terrible consequences of the defeats of the world proletariat thus manifest themselves in Russia as well.

The totalitarianization of capitalism and the totalitarian dictatorship of Stalinism are not identical things. They have different material foundations and different class character. But they are two symmetrical expressions of the price that humanity is paying for the delay of the international communist revolution.

The theory of "socialism in one country" has cruelly revenged itself on Stalin. The petty bourgeois conservatism of the Soviet bureaucracy first led it to strangle the revolution in Europe in return for a fleeting *modus vivendi* with the world bourgeoisie. Then, with implacable logic, the bureaucracy found itself extending its domination beyond Russia's frontiers, in order to find a temporary solution to its economic difficulties and an equally fleeting protection against imperialist encirclement.

The policies pursued by the bureaucracy in the countries under its control serve to reveal its contradictory nature. Unable to share its privileges with the bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy eliminates the capitalists from control of the government and the economy. The measures adopted in these countries, the nationalizations, the agrarian reforms, are

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hardly dictated by a love for socialism, but rather by the bureaucracy's desire to consolidate its exclusive control over the economic and political life of the buffer countries in order to secure its own privileges. Once it attains its ends, it invariably turns upon the masses, curbing their movements and organizations and establishing absolute control over them.

After seizing part of the key industries in the buffer countries, and after promoting the nationalization of big business, the Kremlin seeks to appropriate the maximum share of each country's resources for its own needs, without regard for the interests of the masses. When it encounters a stiffening resistance from the national bourgeoisies, it resorts to a limited mobilization of the masses and full scale police action in order to bring them to heel.

The political regimes of these countries thus assume a Bonapartist form, delivering blows on the right, against the weakening resistance of the bourgeoisie, and blows on the left, against the hesitant efforts of the workers to defend their living standards and elementary democratic rights.

Viewing the results of the bureaucracy's expansion, some short-sighted petty bourgeois "theoreticians," who have long ago lost all faith in the proletarian revolution, marvel at the "successes" of "Stalinist realism." "Haven't the nationalizations been extended to all of Eastern Europe?" they say.

## Crimes of the Bureaucracy

Others, mortally frightened by the "increasing strength" of Stalinism, see in it the representative of a new monstrous exploiting society headed for world domination. The hysteria of both sides is strangely in harmony with Stalinist propaganda, the product of the most vulgar impressionism.

Stalin's "socialist conquests" in Eastern Europe were in reality conceded to him at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. In exchange for these "conquests" Stalin betrayed the August 1942 uprising in India, ordered the disarming of the partisans in Greece, delivered the mass movement in France to de Gaulle, returned the tottering bourgeoisie to power in all the countries of Western Europe and helped crush the German proletariat.

By his infamous practices of dismantling, looting, deportation and terror Stalin succeeded in arousing even within the world labor movement deep feelings of hostility toward the Soviet Union such as Hitler had never been able to produce. This is the impressive balance sheet of Stalinist "victories."

On a far larger scale, Stalin's policy is thus leading the USSR into the same impasse as in 1939. Incapable of basing itself on the revolutionary fighting spirit of the masses, the bureaucracy resorts to expansionism and power politics. Thereby it only aggravates the general conditions which are precipitating an inevitable test of strength with imperialism; thereby it only lends aid to the unification of imperialist forces under Washington's banner.

Stalin has utilized the breathing spell he gained for the most abominable crimes. Whatever may be his further successes, he is rushing headlong to his ruin.

As long as it remains locked in the dilemma of choosing between the Stalinist bureaucracy and American imperialism; as long as it does not rise to the level of struggle for the socialist revolution, the entire world will face not the perspective of reconstruction and progress but, on the contrary, that of accelerated disintegration and decay.

For the last four decades, Europe's history has been the history of the revolt of the productive forces against the boundaries of national states. The two world wars have been nothing else but a desperate effort of the imperialist powers to "organize" this revolt for their own benefit.

French imperialism in 1918 possessed neither the industrial power nor the political vitality necessary to grasp

this organization in its own hands. Through the Versailles system, it "organized" Europe by means of traditional diplomacy: peace treaties, military alliances and financial credits. At the first economic disaster, this system collapsed without leaving a trace.

Then German imperialism, resting upon a superior technology and productive capacity, launched the Second World War with the aim of organizing the old continent for its own needs, not only politically but also militarily and economically. In spite of its overwhelming military successes, the "New European Order" collapsed even more quickly than the Versailles system before it. Its organization was only a gigantic enterprise for pillage and destruction, draining all the economic resources of the people to feed its insatiable war machine.

Today American imperialism, driven by the implacable logic of its dominant position, strives in its own way to resolve the old problem. The political and economic methods

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which it employs (the Marshall Plan and the Western Bloc) seem to be of a different nature from those of the other two powers. Instead of taking away, Yankee imperialism appears to be giving. In place of a society of ruined satellites, it seems to want to form a corporation of grateful debtors. That is why crafty adventurers like Churchill and petty bourgeois like Guy Mollet are gathered together under the "Made in USA" slogan of the "United States of Europe," hoping that American manna will permit them to preserve the memory of old Europe for a while longer.

In reality, the organization of Europe under the aegis of Washington does not pursue aims fundamentally different from those of French and German imperialisms and it will inevitably collapse for similar reasons. To be sure, Yankee imperialism wants to abolish barriers, put finances in order, and stabilize the currencies. But solely in order to "organize" the purchasing power of its clients and the solvency of its debtors. At the same time it is forced to "organize" the contraction of their markets and the increase of their debts. No conferences can save it from the contradictions inherent in this policy. The Europe of the Marshall Plan, like the Europe of Versailles and that of Hitler, can only be an impotent and pauperized Europe.

Threatened with strangulation if its credit is cut off, the European bourgeoisie accepts all American conditions today, just as in 1940 it accepted the ridiculous decrees of Hitler and the Wehrmacht. But the very day the American crisis breaks out and the flow of dollars is shut off, every bourgeoisie will seek desperately for its own salvation and the "unions" will dissolve in even less time than it took to build them.

Just as the unity of the modern nation came into being through the instrumentality of a victorious revolutionary class, so the unity of the continent, now on the order of the day because of the high level of the technology, can be realized only as the fruit of a triumphant new social revolution. Just as it was necessary to sweep away absolutism and all vestiges of semi-feudalism in order to make France one and indivisible, so will it be necessary to sweep out the bourgeois state and its profit system in order to create a unified, socialist Europe.

## For A Socialist United States of Europe

It is now a question of drawing up a unified plan for the reconstruction of the old continent which will bring together Silesian coal, Lorraine ore, Catalan tin and Roumanian oil on a rational basis. It is a question of linking up the steel mills of the Ruhr with Czech building machinery and the Swiss precision instrument industry in a unified effort to provide all of Europe with the most modern technique.

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It is necessary to electrify the Polish countryside, to irrigate southern Italy and to rationalize French agriculture so that bread will not be lacking in Vienna, Berlin or Madrid.

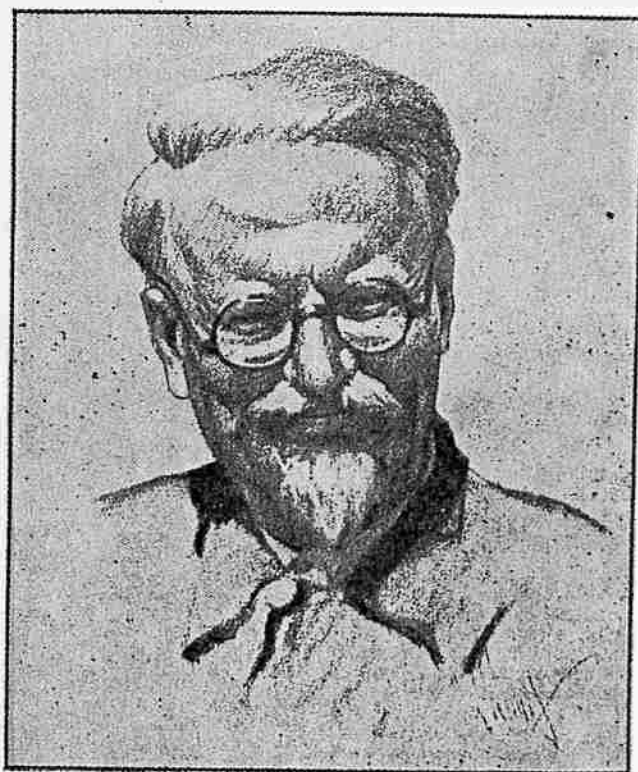
This plan must be drawn up with the aim of satisfying the needs of the masses, and not for the construction of a new war machine. It is necessary not only to abolish capitalist profit, but also the parasitic bureaucracies and the crushing burden of the over-expanded state apparatus. It is necessary to rely upon the creative power of the masses, not compel them by force of hunger nor terrorize them with machine guns. That is why the only plan for Europe which will really organize production for the general welfare and abolish misery, looting, and debt, is a plan elaborated, executed and tested by the masses themselves, organized into thousands of workers' councils covering the whole continent. That is why the unity of Europe is inconceivable without the actual exercise of power by the workers and poor peasants.

A Europe thus unified by the revolutionary action of the proletariat will permit all nationalities the freest development of their respective cultures. With a single blow it will free all colonial peoples and will thus open up a historic epoch of free collaboration between continents. It will hasten the constructive use of atomic energy and will show the working masses of the Soviet Union and the United States a positive alternative to the armament race which can end only in war. It will offer the proletariat of these two countries a concrete plan for the harmonious development of world economy and will undermine by virtue of experience alone the power of the imperialist bourgeoisie as well as that of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

That is why the Fourth International today resolutely counterposes the program of the *Socialist United States of Europe* to the Marshall Plan, as well as to the "defense of the national industry," and to all the quack remedies with which the desperate bourgeoisie, the demoralized petty bourgeoisie, and the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy strive vainly to cure the foul plagues besetting European economy and politics.

If the crumbling of the old imperialist powers encourages the outbreak of liberation movements in the colonies, the development of colonial revolutions accelerates in its turn the decomposition of the imperialist systems and of the bourgeois "democracy" which rests upon them. The tremendous convulsions provoked by the Second World War, the accelerated industrialization of Manchuria, India and the Middle East, the irreparable collapse of the prestige of the "master races," the anguish and the maddening hunger of millions of coolies are shattering the structure of colonial exploitation which for four centuries has fed the capitalist wealth and progress of Europe by the frenzied exploitation of three-fourths of humanity.

With the foundations of their own metropolitan society shaken by the beginnings of colonial revolution, the old imperialist powers tend to change the form of their domination in order to maintain its essential content, that is, their super profits and strategic control. "Trustships," "equality within the framework of the French or Netherlands Union," the grant of dominion status, and even the proclamation of the independence of Iraq or Burma, the partition of Pales-



**Leon Trotsky**

tine and India represent merely successive lines of retreat by imperialist reaction in the colonies. It continues to hold the peoples in its power by a thousand bonds of economic and military servitude. In order to demonstrate in action how their traditional civilizing role is maintained under the new "liberal" form, the imperialist exploiters engage in brutal repressions (Viet Nam) or in cynical provocations ("police action" in Indonesia, the Jewish-Arab struggle, etc.). Colonialism's new road, abandoning direct domination, is marked with murders, famine and bloody chaos as was the road of its original penetration.

In this period of the disintegration of the colonial systems, the native bourgeoisie, marked from birth by the stigma of the decaying system, strives for a favorable partnership with imperialism. Functioning today as an agent of its imperialist masters, it comes into continual collision with the colonial masses, struggling to defend their vital interests. It finds itself torn between the desire to secure new privileges and the fear of losing the old ones. That is what gives its actions a particularly rapacious as well as abject character. Crawling before the corrupt royal clique and periodically selling out their country to the London bankers, the Egyptian bourgeoisie dreams at the same time of annexing the Sudan, Libya, and even Eritrea. Capitulating miserably to the princes and the Moslem landowners, the Indian bourgeoisie at the same time dreams of conquering the markets of the Far East.

### Upheavals in the Colonies

Amid the shocks convulsing the colonial empires, American imperialism alone has been able to realize profits without risks. The colonial bourgeoisies loosen their ties with the mother countries only to fall under the domination of Yankee imperialism. But at the same time Washington rightly fears the inevitable social catastrophes within the mother countries which the final collapse of their colonial empires will precipitate. The American bourgeoisie knows it is incapable of replacing in time the cadres of the colonial apparatus while at the same time maintaining the governments of old Europe.

Utilizing in turn economic extortion, military pressure,

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**Read the . . .**

## **FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**

**Theoretical Organ of the American Trotskyists**

The June and July issues feature important documents of the Second Congress of the Fourth International. Copies of the Fourth International can be obtained for 30 cents each, by writing to:

**Labor Challenge**  
**87 King Street West, Room 5,**  
**Toronto 1, Ontario**

# World Manifesto of the 4th International

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and the organs of the United Nations, American imperialism strives to promote the penetration of its capital at the same time that it utilizes the native bourgeoisie to crush the uprising of the masses and supports the attempts of the imperialists to maintain the framework of their old empires. In the case of Indonesia and of the Sudan, American imperialism has consciously played the role of the defender of colonialism. It understands better than anyone that imperialist domination over the world today is indivisible, and that any local collapse risks becoming the point of departure for the collapse of the entire system.

Utterly worthless are the arguments of all philistines who refuse to support the liberation movements of the colonies under the pretext that their independence would mean their submission to American imperialism or the Soviet bureaucracy. The sacred duty of the proletariat of all the mother countries is to support unconditionally all movements of revolt in the colonies. It is necessary to utilize every opportunity to publicly denounce the crimes committed daily by the "democrats" in the insurgent countries, to call upon the workers to boycott military expeditions and wars of conquest, to conduct in the imperialist army intelligent propaganda for fraternization with the colonial masses, and to force the bourgeoisie to cease hostilities and reprisals.

The complete abandonment by imperialism of all its colonial positions can come only as the result of a revolutionary struggle unfolding simultaneously in the mother countries and in the colonies. The Fourth International is able to state that many of its sections (France, Holland, Great Britain) are the only organizations of the working class to carry on such agitation today. At the same time, the Fourth International has demonstrated that the revolutionists in the mother countries are ready to assist unreservedly the workers and advanced students of the colonial countries to build their own Bolshevik organizations in their own countries.

Yesterday, during the "war against fascism," the Stalinist parties buried the struggle for the independence of the colonies. At the present stage, their reversal of policy has brought them to a complete capitulation before petty bourgeois nationalism. The sections of the Fourth International, on the contrary, have always pursued in the colonial countries everywhere an intransigent struggle against colonial oppression while maintaining the complete organizational, political and ideological independence of the colonial proletariat from its own bourgeoisie. In India, in the Viet Nam, in Egypt the Trotskyists are to be found in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist masses. For the same reason they are the only consistent defenders of the interests of the colonial workers. Their policy is inspired by the theory of the permanent revolution, tested by four decades of revolutionary struggles.

Boldly making the demands of the national bourgeois revolution of their own, the proletariat must place itself at the head of all the exploited masses and lead them in the struggle to solve the agrarian question, drive out the imperialists, expropriate foreign capital, and conquer revolutionary political democracy. It will be able to bring this struggle to a successful conclusion only provided it is able to eliminate its own "national" exploiters, expropriate native capital, and pass over to socialist planning by basing itself on working class power.

## Defend the Colonial Revolutions

The revolutionary conquest of power by the proletariat constitutes the strategic goal of the Fourth International both in the colonial countries as well as in the mother countries. Failing this conquest or the extension of the revolution on an international scale, which it implies, various cliques such as the bourgeois parties in India, the petty bourgeois groups in Indonesia, and the Stalinists in the Viet Nam, who have seized the leadership of the movement and are trying to dissipate the revolutionary energy of the masses, can only lead the colonial revolutions into the impasse of impotent guerilla warfare or to rotten compromises with imperialism.

The rise of the working class movement in the period of ascending capitalism was limited almost exclusively to Europe. Lenin was the first to understand the vital importance of the colonial countries in the strategy of the world proletarian revolution. But long before the task of building revolutionary parties in the colonies could be completed by the Third International, the degeneration of their Stalinist leadership transformed them into bureaucratic machines, and into a serious obstacle to the communist development of the colonial workers.

Upon the Fourth International now falls the task of building the first genuine revolutionary working class parties in the colonial countries. It can fulfill this task—similar to the one which the *Communist Manifesto* proclaimed for Europe—by relying on the whole past experience of the movement. It must spare the colonial proletariat the tragic defeats which the European workers were unable to avoid. That is why the Fourth International is the first organization to boldly proclaim the foremost role of the colonial countries in the world revolutionary struggle. That is why it is the first International to actually enlist within its leadership the most qualified members of the young colonial proletariat. That is also why its ideas are spreading today with astonishing rapidity, beyond the iron curtains, across the jungles and the oceans, from North Africa to Japan, from Korea to Egypt. Recording today its first successes among these three-fourths of humanity—the most exploited section of mankind—the Fourth International is preparing upon this ground, which still knows no working class defeats, the most sweeping overturns that history has known.

(To be Continued)

07-01-39



# SWP Nominates Dobbs - Carlson

A stirring 5-day convention of the Socialist Workers Party held in New York last month, opened the first presidential campaign of the American Trotskyists and summoned the American people to join in the fight for a Workers' and Farmers' government and a socialist United States.

The nomination of Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice-President, was cheered enthusiastically by delegates from more than 30 cities who sat in session from July 1 to July 5. Over 74 per cent of the delegates were active young trade unionists, demonstrating the party's firm roots in the working masses. The 13th National Convention showed that the party is today united in principle, tested in action; that it has put behind it 20 years of uphill battling as a small and isolated group, and today has come of age as a political force in the American working class.

National radio broadcasts by the candidates and by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the SWP, carried the voice and spirit of the convention to millions of listeners. Hundreds of letters from workers throughout the country, have already poured into the SWP headquarters in reply to the first seven radio programs. These broadcasts are unquestionably the most powerful socialist appeals ever made to the American working class, the working farmers and the oppressed Negro people.

## ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

Lashing the Republican and Democratic parties and exposing the demagogic program of the capitalist Wallace, Farrell Dobbs declared in his acceptance speech:

"The working people need to build their own political party, armed with a program to serve the class interests of the men and women who toil.

"The Socialist Workers Party is such a party. . . .

"The Socialist Workers Party is 100 per cent opposed to the capitalist system. We call for the establishment of a socialist society. We advocate the nationalization of the basic industries and their operation under workers' control.

"The Socialist Workers Party calls for full equality for Negroes and all other minority peoples. We are opposed to any restriction on the right to strike. We demand that all laws which abridge the civil rights of the people be wiped off the statute books.

"The Socialist Workers Party advocates a law to take the war-making powers away from Congress and to let the people vote on the question of war or peace.

"We demand that the 17 billion dollars now earmarked for war preparations be used to finance government-built, low-rent housing.

"The Socialist Workers Party calls for the withdrawal of all American troops from foreign soil. We demand that the oppressed

peoples of all lands be permitted to manage their own affairs.

"The Socialist Workers Party advocates the formation of a Workers' and Farmers' government to run the country, not in the interests of the wealthy, but in the interests of those whose labor creates this country's wealth."

The convention heard full-scale reports and held rounded discussions on every major question of international and national political life. Resolutions adopted covered the crisis of world capitalism; American imperialism and its war preparations; the militarization of the U.S. and the fight against the coming imperialist war; the struggle for the independence of the American labor movement and the building of the Labor Party; the political developments of the election year and the Wallace movement. A full day's discussion was devoted to a rounded presentation of the Negro struggle, and a resolution adopted that makes the fight for Negro rights a front-line task of American Trotskyism.

The party has girded itself for a full, active and fruitful election campaign, applying its program in action to every development.

In the forefront of the fight for civil rights, the SWP has denounced the government arrest of 12 Communist (Stalinist) Party leaders under the Smith "gag" Act. Farrell Dobbs labeled the persecutions "a monstrous blow against civil liberties, another step in the direction of establishing a police state and thought control." The SWP has proposed a united front to the Communist Party which, it is well known, gave every aid and comfort to the government in its frame-up and conviction of 18 Trotskyist leaders during the war under this same Smith Act.

Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson were among the first to be convicted under this act, together with 16 other leaders and members of the Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Union 544. Convicted in the Minneapolis Labor Trial of 1941, they served 16 months in federal penitentiaries for their opposition to World War II.

# LABOR

TORONTO, AUGUST, 1948

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08-01-1

## Convention Greet Canadian Trotskyists

We have followed with revolutionary interest and greatest satisfaction the work and progress of our sister party of Canada, the Revolutionary Workers Party.

Your great campaign in the recent Mayoralty election in Toronto has inspired our comrades in the United States and we, in turn, believe that our Presidential Campaign will meet with the satisfaction of the Trotskyists throughout Canada.

Our two parties enjoy the closest fraternal relations and are bound together not only by our common program, but also by the great similarity of the tactical problems confronting us.

We are confident that we are entering a period of the flourishing of the Trotskyist movement on the Western Hemisphere and that together we will overthrow our common enemy—Wall Street imperialism.

13th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States.



08-01-2

# Man. CCF Assails Marshall Plan

By PAUL KANE

The 13th annual convention of the Manitoba CCF clashed head on with the policies of the national leadership. The convention attacked support of the Marshall Plan, by passing a resolution which declared that the plan was "framed to provide capitalists with markets rather than to help the people of Europe and is designed to support reactionary governments against the development of socialism."

## LEADERS SPONSOR MARSHALL

CCF M.P. Zaplitny, who defended the National Council's position on the Marshall Plan, was compelled to concede that all was not well with the Marshall Plan and tried to make out that the party leadership supported it with "reservations". But all of Zaplitny's apologetics could not cover up the fact that the national leadership is THE Marshall Plan propagandist within the ranks of the labor movement.

It was the CCF leadership that sponsored a meeting of trade union, farm and co-operative leaders at Emmanuel College to discuss the Plan and pass a resolution calling on nations "which have refused to co-operate" in the Marshall Plan to join the 16 European countries now participating.

In a speech at the University of Toronto last January, M. J. Coldwell implored CCF students to support this instrument of Wall Street imperialism for two reasons, "however much we may dislike or even fear some of its implications."

The first reason: to aid the European peoples as if the Wall Street octopus was sponsoring a gigantic handout to the starving masses. The second reason why Canadian workers should support it, according to Coldwell, is that "it is in Canada's (Canadian capitalism's—editor) own self interest... we hope and believe that the ERP will incidentally help us solve our own U.S. dollar problem." A hope that even Minister of Trade and Commerce Howe despairs of.

If anyone could possibly have had

illusions about the true character of the Marshall Plan last year, no one can have any today. But the Wall Street "socialists" who lead the CCF continue to spread lies and illusions about the Marshall Plan. Last April the National Council reaffirmed its position with a declaration that "it welcomes and supports" the ERP. The July issue of the CCF monthly membership bulletin *Across Canada* continues to spread its vain hopes and beliefs.

What is the record of the Marshall Plan?

Through the Marshall Plan Washington lined up the Western Bloc and split the European continent into two armed camps. A quick end was made to any British talk of nationalization of Saar industry. At Geneva, Wall Street forced Marshall Plan participants to lower tariff barriers and make Europe free for circulation of U.S. goods.

On January 15, U.S. Secretary of Defense Forrestal, who is at present laying down conditions of Canada's participation in ERP at Ottawa, told the press that he hoped his department "would be assigned the co-ordination of the armed forces of the 16 countries benefiting from the Marshall Plan" . . . "I am certain that General Marshall had in mind to ask European nations to grant military bases for American forces in return for economic aid."

## THE MAILED FIST

Marshall was compelled to deny this brutal statement in the same way that Washington was compelled to "correct" the House of Representatives when it shocked the world with its vote to send aid to Franco's Spain.

Administrator Paul Hoffman has just forced the British government to set up an Anglo-American council of industrialists and trade union leaders. Its purpose is to permit direct U.S. intervention in British industry. On March 19, Marshall himself warned the Italian peoples to vote the de Gasperi government



CCF LEADER COLDWELL

or starve so far as the Plan was concerned.

So much for the National Council's empty and stupid wish that Wall Street would not use the Plan to "interfere with the democratic right of the European peoples to control and determine their own social and economic policies." So much for Coldwell's lies and pretense that the Plan is a generous gift to the world's starving millions.

## ITS PURPOSE

The Plan is designed to support the capitalist structure of Western Europe which is on the verge of collapse and thus contain the Soviet Union. Wall Street hopes to assure long term prosperity to U.S. economy by rebuilding European capitalist economy under its control; to prevent an independent development of productive forces capable of competing with the U.S., and yet assure the U.S. a maximum of markets. These economic aims are combined with more obvious political and military objectives. Wall Street wants to stabilize European capitalism that is threatened by

the socialist revolution and to render these regimes capable of backing the U.S. in the event of war with the U.S.S.R.

The resolution passed by the Manitoba convention correctly characterizes the Marshall Plan but it is seriously weakened by the conclusions that call for international aid under the United Nations. The resolution thereby fosters the same illusions about the UN that the CCF leadership fosters about the Marshall Plan. Just as the Marshall Plan is a tool of American imperialism, so, too, is the United Nations.

## WEAKNESS OF RESOLUTION

The United Nations is no more an assembly of the representatives of the oppressed peoples of the world than are the administrative organs of the Marshall Plan. It is an assembly of the representatives of the imperialist governments, the colonial despots, and the Kremlin bureaucrats. It is merely a warmed up version of the old bankrupt League of Nations which Lenin characterized as "a thieves' kitchen."

The UN's role in Palestine, Indonesia, and Greece, its failure to intervene anywhere in the interests of the workers, poor farmers and colonial peoples, has discredited it in the eyes of the masses. Only through the traitorous efforts of the Social Democratic and Stalinist leaderships does it manage to have the slightest prestige.

The Manitoba resolution reveals the first major conflict in the CCF since the opposition that arose in the B.C. section and split to aid in the formation of the Revolutionary Workers Party. But the resolution falls short of a correct program. If the workers in the CCF really want to aid the European and colonial peoples they must adopt a policy which flows from an understanding of the class nature of society, a program that is completely anti-capitalist and socialist.

They must demand the withdrawal of all the occupational forces in Europe. They must demand freedom for all of the colonial peoples from imperialist oppression. They must support the struggles of the colonial masses.

To the Marshall Plan of Wall Street and the "plan" bureaucratically conceived and executed in the countries of the Soviet "buffer zone" for the privileged native social minority, and above all for the benefit of the Soviet bureaucracy, they must counterpose socialist planning by the masses and for the masses, in the framework of the Socialist United States of Europe.

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## 4TH INTERNATIONAL WORLD MANIFESTO

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With this issue we complete the World Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Fourth International. This document was adopted by the Second World Congress held in Paris three months ago and attended by delegates representing 22 organizations of the Fourth International. Labor Challenge has published the Manifesto, which is of vital interest to the Canadian working class, in two instalments. The first half appeared in the July issue. Copies of that issue can be obtained by writing to Labor Challenge, 87 King Street West, Room 5.

### Wall Street in Latin America

For four centuries, the immense territories of Latin America have been the favorite prey of international brigands, serving as a most important source of their wealth. After the Spain of the conquistadors, came England of the Manchester era to uncover a gold mine in the shape of unlimited markets, cheap sources of foods and raw materials. Next came American imperialism—to flood the continent with its agents, bankers, oil prospectors, and rubber planters. After eliminating its German and Japanese competitors and compelling its English partner to confine itself to Argentina, Yankee imperialism rules today as absolute master over the Latin American peoples. Through "Good Neighbor" and "Western Hemisphere Defense" conferences, and by standardizing armaments and cleverly distributing credits, Wall Street and the State Department play, as best suits their interests, with semi-dictators (as in Brazil) or pure "democrats" (as in Chile). Through their diplomatic agents and AFL labor flunkies, they brutally intervene in the native labor movement, buying up wholesale, journalists, deputies and statesmen, organizing communist witch hunts and forcibly splitting the trade unions.

Stifling within narrow boundaries which block the establishment of a domestic market, lacking an adequate demographic base, tied to the landowners through large-scale foreign trade and to foreign capital through the banks, the miserable and belated Latin American bourgeoisie is incapable of solving any problem whatsoever. They have not been able to integrate into the orbit of capitalist production the huge Indian and Negro communities which dot the entire continent like so many islands of backwardness. They have been unable to tear the different countries away from the bondage of single-crop production, leaving each country's economy vulnerable to severe shocks from world economic crises. They have not succeeded in seriously resisting imperialism but have for a century furnished imperialism, through the various native political cliques, with countless servile agents. They have not succeeded in uniting into one single Latin American nation all these different countries which speak the same language, whose economies are interdependent, whose existing divisions and mutual quarrels serve only to enslave peoples and strengthen international capitalism.

### The Workers and Capitalists

In every Latin American country the specific weight of the proletariat surpasses by far that of the native bourgeoisie. Eking out their existence, often under the most intolerable conditions, as among the miners and agricultural workers, these workers periodically engage in revolutionary movements—fierce and desperate in their violence. Terrified by the elemental power of these mass movements, the bourgeoisie finds itself again and again compelled to establish dictatorial regimes, which follow in the wake of democratic interludes (Cardenas, APRA, Bettancourt). In the course of the latter, the native bourgeoisie frequently exploits the working class movement in order to blackmail and exert pressure on foreign imperialism. Most often the state in Latin America assumes a Bonapartist form of a peculiar type, tacking and veering between this weak, heterogeneous but rapacious bourgeoisie, foreign imperialism, and a wide layer of the petty bourgeoisie on the one side, and the young proletariat, which grows in numbers and confidence on the other.

It is upon this young Latin American proletariat that falls the task of solving the historic problems which the bourgeoisie has failed to solve.

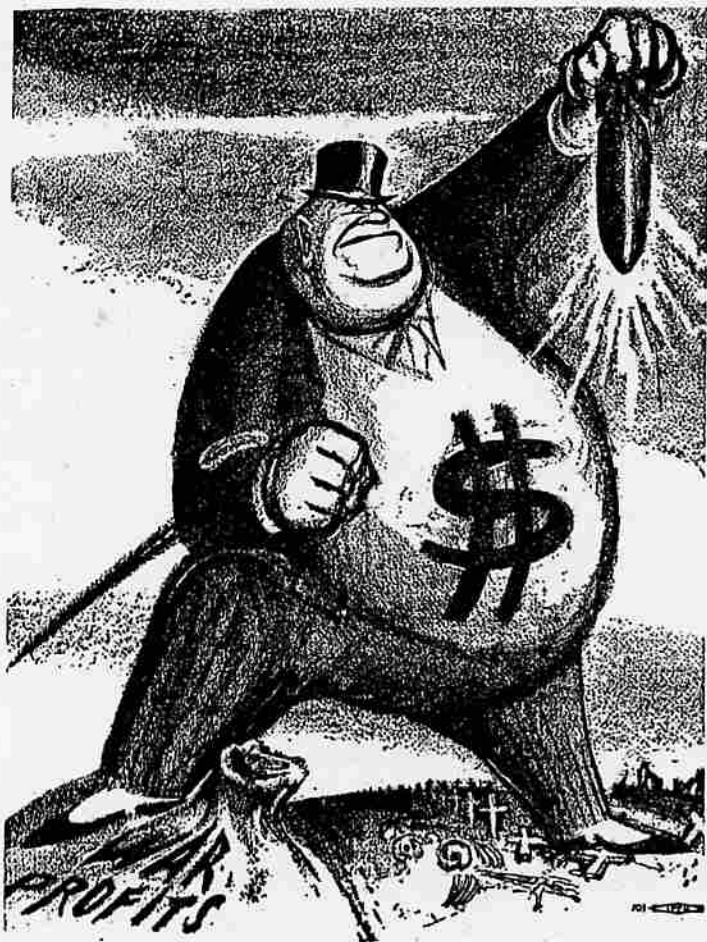
The Bolivian revolution, the great strikes in Chile and Brazil, the upsurge of the labor movement in Venezuela, the recent bloody days in Bogota are proof that the working masses of Latin America are no longer willing to remain the eternal victims of capitalist hucksters. Advancing its candidacy for power, the Latin American proletariat will assume the leadership of each national anti-imperialist movement and will—around its program of national and social emancipation—unite the impoverished city poor as well as the peasants who are eager to free themselves from the big landowners. The revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat in every given country will learn in every social crisis, and in every conflict between the masses and imperialism, to advance boldly the program of the Socialist United States of Latin America. It is the duty of the proletariat in the U.S. to assist their Latin American brothers with all the forces at their command. At the very moment when Yankee imperialism is reaching out for world domination, the base of its power in Latin America will be found shattered. Before the workers in the United States engage it in decisive battles at home, Yankee imperialism will receive the most unexpected blows from the workers south of the Rio Grande.

If humanity is still beset by the havoc and terror unleashed by the explosion of the productive forces, if mankind has not yet solved its tasks, the fault does not lie with the workers. They have launched attack after attack on the old system of production. They have long furnished the most eloquent proofs of devotion, sacrifice, abnegation and initiative. The responsibility does rest on the treacherous leadership of the working class, and solely on them.

To blame was—and is—the Social Democracy. It was the Social Democrats who in 1914 deserted to the service of the bourgeoisie; and in 1918 they assured the ruin of the German revolution; and ever since, they have proved them-

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selves to be, in the words of Leon Blum, the "loyal managers" of capitalism. Equally to blame is Stalinism. After causing the disintegration of the parties of the Third International, Stalinism, by a whole series of turns has led these parties to adopt the methods of class collaboration, sometimes cruder, sometimes more refined, but at all times as pernicious and perfidious as the class collaboration methods of the Social Democracy.

And now today, both of these movements, under the pretext of avoiding the "unnecessary overhead expenses" of the proletarian revolution, adopt, each in its own way, the reformist solutions of the "Third Force" and of the "New Democracy." These "solutions" can lead the working masses only to new catastrophes.

Caught in a vise between the pressure of world imperialism and that of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the sorry heroes of the Social Democracy distinguish themselves by all the traditional follies of the enraged petty bourgeois. In brief, their folly expresses itself in their trying to "delimit" themselves from the two world powers who are today pitted against each other.

As a matter of fact, speeches and articles backing a "Third Force" are merely a smoke screen to cover up the actual participation of the reformist chieftains in one or the other of the contending camps. The Mochs and the Van Ackers break strikes for the benefit of the corporation owners; the Fierlingers and the Cierankievichs are the accomplices of the Stalinists in suppressing what still remains of the workers' rights. This is the fundamental contradiction in the "Third Force." It has given birth to the "Information Committee" of the Socialist parties. Today both Washington and Moscow have "their own" socialists just as the monarchs of old used to have "their own" Jesuits, each medieval prince "his own" jesters and so on.

Even as war today tends to assume a more and more totalitarian form, just so the process of preparing for war increasingly involves the establishment of absolute control

over the labor movement. American imperialism pursues its aims by leaning on both the Pope and the Social Democracy. Under its magnanimous wing, there also "regroup" themselves all the invalids of the labor movement, united by their blind fear of Stalin and by their acceptance of Yankee domination as the "lesser evil." While Washington's ideological front is thus reinforced by petty-bourgeois panic, specialists far less fastidious organize the Marshall Plan propaganda; cause the "reds" to be driven out of the factories and public administration; destroy the unity of trade unions.

### "The Third Force"

The Social Democracy, however, is able to accomplish its tasks only because the far greater crimes of the Stalinists periodically drive new layers of the working class in its direction. Compared with Stalinist bureaucratism and corruption, the reformist betrayers by no means represent a more "democratic" variety. They are merely a breed of bureaucrats who are very closely integrated in the apparatus of their respective national capitalists.

As in 1919, the Social Democratic leaders are trying today to divert the instinctively revolutionary upsurge of the masses with the myth of "economic democracy." Actively supported this time by the Stalinist chieftains, they preach to the workers that there is no need for revolution so long as they are able to occupy such posts as that of Minister of Economic Affairs, so long as they nationalize — with full indemnities — the coal mines, establish labor-management committees, and introduce other reforms by legal means. Like Hilferding who wanted to couple the Soviets with the German bourgeois constitution, the Bevins and the Morrisons are hailing the progress of "socialist" economy within the framework of the British Empire.

After World War I capitalism was still able in certain historically favored countries to grant the workers the forty-eight hour week and other social legislation as a means of diverting them from the revolutionary path. Today the champions of "economic democracy" undertake to compel the workers to accept the cynical super-exploitation on which the whole economic recovery of Europe now rests. The policy of the British Labor Government is the clearest expression of the present-day mission of the labor bureaucracy, namely, to permit the workers to rebuild with their sweat the capital that had been previously destroyed by shedding their blood.

The shameful policy of the reformist leaders to integrate themselves completely in the campaign of reconstruction and to assist in the material and ideological rearmament of Big Capital can only continue to provoke discontent and revolt on the part of their socialist proletarian following, especially among the youth.

Stalinism is incapable of attracting those layers of workers who are today searching for a new pole of attraction. The parties of the Fourth International, firmly based on their program—the only one that offers a new road to the younger generation of workers—seek to approach these currents which are detaching themselves from the Social Democracy, without prejudice or sectarianism. By working closely together and by patient comradeship education, they will guide them through their own experiences to surmount all the contradictions of centrism and embrace the organization and political principles of Bolshevism-Leninism.

### "The New Democracy"

The powerful revolutionary wave which erupted simultaneously in Europe and Asia with the end of World War II raised the Stalinist parties to the peak of their power. As in all previous revolutionary movements, the masses surged in great numbers to the parties which, by their tradition, their past activity, and their cadres were solidly rooted in their class, and most closely corresponded to the level of radicalization among wide layers of the working class. Transformed by a single stroke into government parties in fifteen countries, the Stalinist organizations are just as responsible for the liquidation of this first post-war revolutionary wave

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# World Manifesto of the 4th International

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as were the parties of the Social Democracy for the liquidation of the revolutionary movements after 1918. The reformist betrayal of those days was carried out in the name of "Economic Democracy"; the Stalinist betrayal of 1945, in the name of "the New Democracy."

The defense of the "bastions" conquered within the framework of imperialist democracy—in reality, the defense of the privileges of the labor bureaucracy—that is the immediate aim in the name of which the old-line reformists abandoned the historic goal of the proletariat. The defense of the "Russian bastion"—in reality, the defense of the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy—that is the aim in the name of which Stalinism abandoned the world communist revolution. But experience invariably proves that to abandon the final goal is to inescapably end by losing the very "bastions" which are allegedly being defended. Involved here is not a lack of "understanding" of these self-evident lessons of history on the part of the leaders. What is involved is rather the defense of their own special interests. Just as it is the function of reformism to reconcile the existence of the labor bureaucracy with the existing national bourgeoisie, so, too, it is the function of the Stalinist bureaucracy to reconcile the existing Soviet bureaucracy with the existence of world imperialism.

The practices employed in Soviet expansion, which invest the theory of the "New Democracy" with a semblance of justification for all the crimes committed by the Kremlin in the countries outside the Soviet sphere of influence, serves only to complete its basic function: The open abandonment of the Leninist strategy of the conquest of power and its replacement by a policy of compromises or adventures, for seizing the "levers of power in the bourgeois state." All this is an open expression of the attempt to reduce the world proletariat to the status of a pawn in the maneuvers of Soviet diplomacy, of its army, of its police-spy system, completely in the spirit of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

## The Stalinist Traitors

On the basis of this general orientation, the Stalinist parties are less capable than ever of arriving at a consistent political line. As in the past, their tactics fluctuate from the lowest brand of opportunism to the other extreme of the most frightful adventurism, frequently combining the features of both extremes. Yesterday the Comintern is dissolved; today the Comintern is reconstituted. Yesterday they call for "Production First"; today they call for sabotage of the Marshall Plan. Yesterday they denounce the strikes as the "weapons of the trusts"; today they bureaucratically incite strike actions. All these shifts and turns, which so disorient and stupefy the working class, express one and the same desire of the Stalinist leaders—to reach a favorable compromise with world imperialism. They also express a supreme contempt for the workers, for their feelings, for their interests, for their integrity.

The power of Stalinism in the working class is a product of the material power of its apparatus combined with the revolutionary tradition of the past which it still represents in the eyes of the broad masses. As Engels pointed out a century ago, tradition represents one of the greatest forces for inertia in history. To wrest from Stalinism the leadership of the working class, it is necessary to begin where the Social Democracy and the Communist Party left off. It is necessary to build powerful workers' organizations. It is necessary to educate a new generation of revolutionary worker cadres, who through numerous successive experiences in struggle, will succeed in rooting themselves in the working class and gaining its respect and confidence. It is necessary to build a genuine party which, through ever wider activities, will eventually appear in all mass movements as the real alternative to the bankrupt leaderships. By relying firm-

ly on its revolutionary program, by orienting itself toward the most exploited layers of society, by maintaining complete confidence in the profoundly revolutionary combat power of

(Continued on page 2)

the proletariat—that is how the Fourth International will finally destroy the obstacle of Stalinism within the working class movement.

For thirty years humanity has paid for the delay of communist revolutions with a terrible crisis—wars, counter-revolutions, totalitarian dictatorships, nations decimated, civilization dragged into decadence. But this entire tragic period does not at all express any congenital incapacity of the proletariat to become conscious of its historical mission. On the contrary, from the civil war in Russia up to the Spanish civil war, from the insurrection of Canton to that of Athens, millions of workers have shown in action an enthusiasm, combativeness and revolutionary devotion without equal in history.

All the qualities rising from the working class's specific function in capitalist society—its capacity for suddenly displaying enormous creative energy, its keen sense of voluntary discipline, its profound selflessness, which is the clearest expression of its own deepest historic interests, are already inscribed in the most moving pages of the history of the Twentieth Century. The analyses and forecasts of the *Communist Manifesto* on this subject have not alone been confirmed; they have become established as the major reality of our times.

But the spontaneous revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat is today confronted by a bourgeois society which, with every step of its decline, exhibits a new defensive reflex characteristic of classes condemned to disappear. Confronted by the army, police, spies, scabs, press, radio, school and church, which constitute so many ramparts around the threatened citadels of capital, the spontaneous but uncoordinated attacks of the proletariat are inevitably condemned to bloody defeat. Against the centralized and scientifically organized leadership of the counter-revolution, which for decades has directed all capitalist countries whatever their political regime, the proletariat cannot conquer unless in its turn it selects an even more qualified leadership: that of its class party. The crisis of humanity is today the crisis of revolutionary leadership, for along with this instinctively revolutionary movement of the proletariat there remains the openly counter-revolutionary character of its leadership.

## The Crisis of Leadership

That in three decades the proletariat has been unable to select an adequate world leadership—a task which the young European bourgeoisie, infinitely more educated and better prepared, was able in its time to achieve only after two centuries of groping—can bewilder only those who have lost all sense of proportion in appraising history. Disposing of incomparable wealth and experience, the bourgeoisie succeeded, better than preceding ruling classes, in making its own ideology and morality into the dominant ideology and morality of the epoch.

In the ascending period of capitalism, successive working class leaderships gradually won some small reforms for the proletariat and substantial privileges for themselves. But one after another they rose above their own class and thus became the principal agents for the transmission of bourgeois ideology into the workers' movement. It was only when the decline of capitalism precipitated the first powerful revolutionary waves in Europe and Asia that the material conditions for selecting a genuine revolutionary leadership, free from the ideological influence of the ruling class, were established. But, because of the lack of an adequate leader-

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ship, these first struggles were inevitably condemned to defeat. Selection of the revolutionary leadership has been proceeding since then under the burden of these defeats. The Russian Bolshevik Party, the only one which succeeded in leading the workers to the conquest of power, has itself become the first victim of the lack of a genuine Bolshevik international. To build such an organization in the extremely difficult conditions of a period of decline—that is the historical mission of the Fourth International.

The world general staff of the proletariat must assimilate in its entirety the program of communist revolution. It must enrich this program with a full revolutionary experience which makes it capable of meeting all sudden turns in the situation. It must inculcate this program and experience into great working masses by means of an organization which is closely linked to the working class. These three tasks were able to be accomplished only with the greatest difficulty in the period in which the Fourth International was born.

### **A World Movement and an International Leadership**

The program of revolution is assimilated only in the course of mass struggles. Political experience is acquired only in the course of an entire historical period of multiple activities. The workers' organization can be built only by uninterrupted work within the factories and the workers' neighborhoods. But the conditions of declining capitalism shatter again and again with an incredible brutality, the continuity of revolutionary ideas, generations and organizations. That is why the selection of a genuine world leadership proves so long and so arduous a task. That is why it must be undertaken consciously and must be consciously planned and executed.

The dialectic of history is such that the objective conditions which make so difficult the building of a world party of socialist revolution are likewise the sole conditions which make its construction possible. Thanks to the epoch in which it was formed, the Fourth International is free from reformist illusions, from parliamentary cretinism, from fatalism, from adventurism, from naive faith which becomes transformed into disillusioned pessimism—in short, from so many of those feelings and ideas which formed and shattered preceding generations of revolutionists.

The Fourth International has surmounted the contradictions between the national origin of working class militants and the world mission of the proletarian movement; it is the first organization which has begun to produce a genuine international leadership. The Fourth International is the first world organization of the proletariat which combines a complete revolutionary program with the experience gained by past revolutionary movements. That is why the proletarian defeats of the past will appear on the historical scale as the inevitable conditions for the formation of a scientific technique of revolution just as epidemics were the necessary conditions for the development of a scientific technique for cures. That is why the tragic period in which we are living will prove with the passage of time to be nothing but a pause of history in order to forge an adequate tool for the emancipation of humanity.

The cadres of the Fourth International gain the experience necessary for becoming the real revolutionary leadership of the proletariat only by indefatigable and organized participation in all the struggles and all the movements of the masses, the real school of strategy in the class struggle. For this participation, the Fourth International finds itself armed with its *Transitional Program*, the sum of the teachings of all past workers' struggles.

The activity of the Fourth International has as its first objective to express clearly and consciously the deep but confused aspirations of the exploited masses. If the latter rise against the crimes of inflation or unemployment, if the burdens of wars or of national oppression seem unbearable to them, if they demand peace, more bread or more freedom,

the Fourth International is at their side, stimulating their critical spirit, sharpening their discontent onto the road of socialist consciousness, educating, organizing and directing the exploited so that they will pass over from latent revolt against the effects of the capitalist regime to open revolt against the cause of their troubles: capitalism in decay.

### **The Struggle for the Transitional Program**

Confronted by each anxiety or each demand of the masses, the Fourth International launches appropriate slogans to mobilize them with the aim of solving the problems which agitate them. That is why the Fourth International with all its might combats skepticism, fatalism and passivity as the worst brakes upon the development of class consciousness in the proletariat. That is why it explains over and over again that all decisions upon vital questions which are posed before the working class depend in the last analysis on the clash of forces between the classes, in which the proletariat can be the victor in the factory as well as on the street.

Capitalism can no longer live save by increasing the burden of poverty which is crushing the laboring masses. Whether deflation and inflation; whether in the policy on prices and the policy on taxes; whether campaigns for export and restrictions on consumption; whether insufficient food and overproduction—in all countries, under a thousand different succeeding forms, there is but one and the same attack on the buying power of the masses. Guaranty of a *minimum living wage*, based on the consumption needs of workers' families, through the system of a *sliding scale* of wages, salaries, unemployment compensation, pensions and social insurance—such is the immediate objective that the sections of the Fourth International propose for the workers' struggles. The examples of Japan, Korea, Italy, France and the United States, clearly demonstrate that this slogan has already been assimilated by millions of workers who have inaugurated tremendous strikes to bring it about.

In the midst of general under-consumption among three-fourths of humanity, there already appear everywhere the signs of capitalist glut. Today only a secondary threat, tomorrow unemployment will bear down as the principal burden upon the proletariat. Constantly warning the masses of the crisis which is inevitably approaching, the Fourth International calls the workers to the struggle for the forced re-opening of shut-down plants and for restoring production in them under workers' control, for the progressive decrease in working hours without reduction in take-home pay; for prevention of lay-offs and the sharing of available work among all workers for whom a minimum living wage will remain guaranteed.

### **For Workers' Control**

Questions of prices, wages, profits, business volume and volume of employment are, however, dependent on the entire economic life of the country. If the workers want to attack the problem of buying power and of full employment in an effective way, they cannot leave the task of determining the cost of living index or the rate of employment and unemployment to the bosses or their government. That is why none of the preceding slogans have value unless they are tied up with workers' control. The sections of the Fourth International overlook no opportunity for awakening the workers' distrust regarding the good faith and capacity of the capitalists and their State. The workers must be able to see the books, so they may observe in living form how capitalist economy really functions and may get a good look at the whole mechanism of exploitation, at the sordid parasitism and wastefulness which are the explanation of their own privations. Only on this condition does the struggle for immediate economic objectives become, in effect, a bridge towards the *revolutionary* mobilization of the proletariat against capitalism.

After the experience of the great economic crisis, of

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mass unemployment, of the black market, the great mass of workers understands today that no degree of economic security is compatible with the preservation of private property in the means of production. The domination of the economy of all nations by a limited group of monopolists has now become common knowledge. However, in the face of the experiments with bourgeois nationalizations, especially those of England and France, it is necessary to explain again that the revolutionary demand for *expropriation of the banks and key industries* is fundamentally different from the miserable reformist patching up of decaying capitalism. To demand that nationalizations take place without any compensation except to small stockholders; to demand workers' control in the nationalized enterprises; to demand the grouping of all expropriated industries within the framework of a reconstruction plan set up and executed by workers' committees; and to tie up the struggle for these nationalizations with the struggle for the Workers and Farmers Government—in that way we counterpose the program for the communist and revolutionary transformation of society to the tenacious will of the bourgeoisie to preserve its rule under a modified form.

## Unity of the Laboring Masses

The epoch of decaying capitalism is likewise the epoch of the continuous pauperization of *the middle classes*. Carefully distinguishing between the exploiting strata and the exploited strata of the urban and peasant bourgeoisie, the sections of the Fourth International launch slogans suited to uniting the laboring masses in action against big capital. In contrast with the Stalinist and reformist parties—for whom "alliance" with the middle classes is a cheap pretext for abandoning the revolutionary proletarian program in order to ally themselves with leaders and parties who actually betray the interests of the petty bourgeoisie—the sections of the Fourth International seek support in the deep discontent of the hardest-hit middle strata (functionaries at starvation salaries, landless farmers, artisans crushed by taxes, ruined small businessmen, etc.), in order to guide their desire for a social overturn along the socialist road. This is the surest way of avoiding, in countries like Italy, Japan or France, the development of new semi-fascist organizations supporting themselves on the despair of the middle classes.

All economic, trade union, and social questions are today political questions. Everything that the proletariat can force out of the boss class through the strike is systematically taken from it by the government, which, whatever may be its form, remains the real administrative council of the ruling class. That is why we counterpose the **WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT** to any bourgeois government, whether it be an outright reactionary one, or a coalition government of "working class" leaders with bourgeois parties.

To the unflagging propaganda for this slogan we add, in periods of violent governmental crises or generalized battles of the working class, a precise agitation addressed to the parties which claim to be working class and in which the masses still have confidence. To these parties the Fourth International launches the appeal: **"BREAK WITH THE CAPITALISTS! TAKE ALL THE POWER!"** in order to apply a genuine workers' program with the support of the mobilized masses and under their control.

But it is not enough that the "workers" parties be alone in the government for the government to be a true workers government. There must also be a genuinely anti-capitalist program, a revolutionary mobilization of the masses, overflowing the framework of bourgeois legality. Therein is posed the question of the State. The labor ministers of Great Britain, Scandinavia or Australia have only the illusion of power. The real power remains in the hands of the administrative bureaucracy at the orders of the all-powerful monopolists. The governments change, but the police, gen-

erals, judges and high functionaries, the entire bureaucracy in the service of the bourgeoisie, remains the same. This obstacle can be broken only by creation of the real power of the masses, organized into factory, neighborhood, village committees.

## For the Proletarian State

The cost of the state bureaucracy, with its military budgets, its wastefulness and frauds, bears down increasingly on the blood-white national economy, and is the primary source of the inflation which is devouring the incomes of the common people. Following the incomparable example of agitation put forward by Lenin, the Fourth International unceasingly denounces the oppressive, exploitive and parasitic character of the bourgeois State. Starting out from thousands of concrete examples, we constantly oppose to it the low-cost State, the State in which the bureaucratic machine has been completely smashed and where executive functions pass over into the hands of the entire working population: **THE PROLETARIAN STATE, THE STATE OF COUNCILS, THE STATE OF THE COMMUNE AND OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION.**

\* \* \*

Following upon the great French strikes of 1947, the Italian elections of 1948 definitively confirmed that at the present stage unity of the proletarian front can no longer be established around one of the two traditional leaderships of the working class. Stalinism's sharp turns and cynical maneuvers have finally alienated from it a sizeable part of the working class vanguard. The strikebreaking and scabherding of the reformist leaders renders them incapable from now on of further influencing the mass of fighting communist workers.

The two workers' bureaucracies lay down a dividing line in the proletariat corresponding to the two blocs of international powers. Voluntarily overlooking the mass of communist workers, the reformist leaders treat those who follow the Stalinist parties as agents of a "totalitarian dictatorship." The Stalinist leaders in their turn lump the social-democratic workers together with the fascists in the "American party" camp.

Just as tomorrow no workers' offensive will be possible without unity of action of the workers, so a victorious defense by the proletariat against the attacks which the bourgeoisie is now launching against the workers' purchasing power and liberties is impossible without re-establishment of unity of the proletarian front. A century ago, the *Communist Manifesto* proclaimed that the communists have no interests separate from those of their class. Today the Fourth International, *World Party of the Socialist Revolution*, constitutes the only force which is calling the workers to reconstitute the unity of their class front in action.

## The Trade Union Bureaucracy and the State

The trade unions are the first today to be hit by those in the workers' movement who represent interests alien to the interests of the proletariat. The slogan, "A united trade union movement to oppose a united boss class," remains the touchstone of trade union tactics of the Fourth International. To divide the unions is today definitely to facilitate the maneuvers and provocations of the bosses. But it is not, at all enough to conduct a consistent struggle against trade union division. Such division is in fact, in most cases, only a particular aspect of an even deeper and more dangerous phenomenon, desertion of the trade union movement. On the other hand, trade union unity has meaning for the proletariat only in the degree that it makes unity of action more attainable.

But the trade union bureaucracy wants to establish an

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increasingly complete control over the workers' movement and to accelerate integration of the trade union apparatus into the apparatus of the capitalist State. Finally, this same bureaucracy, whose treacherous policies are sowing demoralization and constitute the worst element in trade union desertion, is endeavoring to completely stifle democracy within the trade unions and is, in practice, depriving the boldest militants of the means for presenting their ideas to the body of trade unionists. That is why the sections of the Fourth International conduct one and the same struggle for trade union unity based on a dynamic program of demands which can widen the radius of activity of the trade unions to include great unorganized masses, for the complete independence of the trade unions from the State, and for an unceasing defense of trade union democracy.

But the trend towards the limitation and suppression of workers' liberties is now evident throughout the capitalist world. MacArthur suppresses the general strike in Japan; Schumann and Moch promulgate infamous laws in France; and the Taft-Hartley law throws the rope of class "justice"

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around the American trade unions. The survival of capitalist rule everywhere is becoming increasingly incompatible with the preservation of democratic liberties, even of the most elementary variety.

In this situation the Fourth International calls upon the workers to bring about broad unity of action around all *democratic demands* which correspond to a real need of the working population. To give these demands the most unified form and to conduct the most consistent struggle for them means today the mobilization of the masses for the socialist revolution. Especially in Germany and in other occupied countries, the struggles for withdrawal of all occupation troops, for unification of the country and against all annexations and reparations, against censorship and thinly veiled military dictatorship, for really free elections, for convocation of a Constituent Assembly, for recall of those elected at the will of the people, for free meeting places, printing plants, radio, etc., for all the workers' organizations—these struggles constitute landmarks along the road of the proletarian revolution, if they are conducted in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and are tied up constantly with propaganda for international fraternization of workers and soldiers, and for the *Socialist United States of Europe*.

### Worker's United Front Needed

Finally, with the memory of fascist dictatorship still very fresh in the minds of the workers of most of the countries of Europe, the latter follow the signs of renewal of fascist activity (Italy) or semi-fascist (France) with growing anxiety. The Fourth International constantly reminds the workers of the terrible lessons of workers' defeats in Germany, Austria and Spain at the hands of the fascists. It constantly propagandizes for setting up the *United Front* of all workers' organizations in order to bar the road to the De Gaulles, Mosleys, Almirantes and other candidates of big capital for the executioner's role. The formation of rank and file United Front committees must be accompanied with a constant propaganda, based upon daily events, for setting up the United Front among organizations claiming to be proletarian. Constitution of a *workers' militia* based on factories, trade unions and neighborhood committees must constantly be posed in opposition to the legalistic cretinism of the treacherous leaders, who slavishly repeat the errors of their predecessors by demanding of the bourgeois State that it disarm the fascist bands. But it is above all necessary to follow attentively all the spontaneous actions of the masses in the anti-fascist struggle, actions which are taking on the boldest forms, especially in Italy. Only when the revolutionary vanguard will have learned to adopt these spontaneous actions, widen them and multiply them unceasingly, will a real, fundamental integration be established between the conscious struggle and the spontaneous upsurge of the workers and only then will it effectively win the confidence of its own class.

Confronted by the incredible degeneration of the Soviet Union, a number of disillusioned revolutionaries identify the Stalinist dictatorship with what still remains of the October conquests and refuse to defend the latter. On the other hand, all the "fellow travelers" who, only yesterday, sang praises to the "victorious Red Army" when it was a question of "fighting the anti-fascist war to the end," suddenly again became conscious of Stalinist barbarism at the moment when it collides with the interests of their own bourgeoisie. The militants of the Fourth International, who were the first in the labor movement to denounce all that is monstrous and reactionary in the Stalinist regime, are the only ones who conduct a genuine struggle against Stalin within the rigid framework of defending the interests of the Russian proletariat and the world proletariat.

### For the Overthrow of the Stalinist Bureaucracy For the Defense of the October Conquests Against Imperialism

The war which Washington is preparing against the USSR does not at all pursue the aim of introducing political democracy or respect for the rights of man in Soviet Russia. On the contrary, in the face of the ferocious resistance which the Soviet workers and peasants would put up if American troops occupied Soviet territories, Yankee imperialism would install a regime of terror there similar to Hitler's.

The Imperialist war not only would not liberate the workers from the totalitarian dictatorship, but it would prevent them from going further along the socialist road. Imperialism would at the most combine its search for capitalist profits with the wastefulness engendered by the bureaucracy. Far from thoroughly cleansing the structure of planning and eliminating the gangrene of profiteering from it, imperialism would bring the whole structure down with the hammer blows of its own exports and capital.

The violent ejection of the bureaucratic regime is today an urgent task of the Russian working class, otherwise what remains of the October conquests is in danger of being stifled under the weight of this parasitic regime. That is precisely the reason why the Russian workers cannot farm out this task to imperialism and will fiercely defend the remnants of the October conquests against imperialism without for a single moment relaxing their revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the Stalinist Bonapartist clique.

By his reactionary policies in the countries occupied by the Russian army, Stalin primarily defends the privileges of the bureaucracy. Just as the bureaucracy undermines the foundations of the workers state in the USSR, so, too, its counter-revolutionary policies outside the USSR constitute a permanent threat to these same conquests. The Fourth International defends what remains of October solely by revolutionary class struggle methods. Everything which weakens the proletariat inside and outside of the USSR; everything which poisons its thinking or lowers its consciousness, is a direct blow against the revolutionary defense of the USSR. That is why to defend the conquests of October today means to struggle against the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy, against its oppression, looting and occupation of "buffer-zone" countries, against its secret treaties and deals on the backs of the people. The only form of defense of the USSR advocated by the Fourth International is the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in each country against its "own" bourgeoisie—the struggle to smash all obstacles in the path of socialist revolution, even when these consist of Russian occupation troops.

In the absence of a powerful revolutionary pole of mass mobilization, the war, the defense of the Soviet State, and the pressing needs of reconstruction have assuredly brought about an acceptance of the bureaucracy by advanced workers

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as the unavoidable, lesser evil. On the other hand, the partisan struggles, the military victories and contacts with the advanced countries of Europe have also undoubtedly increased the critical spirit of the Soviet workers, their hatred of the parasites responsible for all the frauds and thefts; and has tempered their will to take the direction of the state into their own hands again. The further reconstruction proceeds, the further the rate of accumulation declines as a result of bureaucratic leadership, all the sharper will be the economic difficulties and all the more exasperating will social inequality become. In the course of constant upheavals which Soviet society will experience, the young worker generations will gain consciousness of their own interests. With the assistance of the revolutionary movements in capitalist countries, they will find the way to overthrow the bureaucracy and will open up a new revolutionary chapter in the history of Russia.

The Fourth International does not pose for itself the task of patching up the capitalist regime or of seeking substitutes for "too radical" revolutionary solutions. Its program is that of mobilizing the masses for the overthrow of

### Congress of Fourth International



The Presidium of the Second Congress of the Fourth International. From left to right: Comrades Favre Bleibtreu (France), S. Santen (Holland), Pierre Frank (France), Jock Haston (England), Colvin R. DeSilva (Ceylon) and Munia (Spain).

capitalism. That is why the transitional demands bear no trace of a "conformist" or "evolutionist" spirit. Leaping over the old antithesis of minimum and maximum program, these demands, on the contrary, link up each day-to-day preoccupation with the most burning problem of our epoch, *the revolutionary conquest of power*. Sectarian is all propaganda which limits itself to repeating this general goal of the movement like a ritualistic formula, without supplying the working class with the means of acquiring an understanding of it in the course of its own experience. All propaganda is opportunistic which introduces, even if surreptitiously, a conception of struggle by stages, "momentarily" limiting itself to immediate demands, transforming each transitional slogan into an end-in-itself, and considering the workers as too backward to have the program of communist revolution explained to them right from the start.

In the face of the frightful prostitution of communism by the Stalinist bureaucracy and the innumerable distortions and falsifications which resulted, it is necessary today to reaffirm the fundamental characteristics of the communist revolution.

It means the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and its destruction insofar as a class; it means the taking over by the proletariat of the means of production and exchange. It means destruction of the bureaucratic state machine of the bourgeoisie and its replacement by the *proletariat organized as the ruling class* into workers councils, in which proletarian democracy rules.

Collectivization of the means of production and exchange, concentration of all credit establishments into a single State bank which is collective property; setting up a monopoly of foreign trade; establishment of a planned economy: these are not in themselves the goals of the revolution; they are merely the means of progressively raising the standard of living and of culture of the masses, of decreasing the length of the work day to the point where the immense majority of the workers will be able to administer the economy and public affairs, where the division of society into classes will disappear and where the State will wither away. That is why there must be: the establishment and development of workers control of production; active participation of the masses in elaborating, executing and verifying production plans; intervention of the human factor on an ever more decisive scale at all levels of economic life; ever greater subordination of production norms to the needs of consumption. These are the indispensable elements in the economy following upon the overthrow of capitalism; and they constitute so many indices of the real progress of society towards socialism. That is why a drastic reduction of the body of professional functionaries, the fusion of legislative and executive functions and their exercise in rotation by a growing number of educated workers constitute the clearest indices of the definitive liquidation of counter-revolution, of stabilization of the new society and of the radical decrease in its internal contradictions.

### The Program of the Communist Future

The program of the communist revolution is that of the emancipation of all nationalities, of the positive granting of the right of self-determination to all peoples, including the right to secession. Eliminating all exploitation and all oppression of one people by another by conjointly eliminating the exploiters in each nation; giving each nation the possibility of freely developing its own cultural entity, the revolution will at the same time destroy the sources of chauvinism, will pursue nationalistic and racist mysticism down into its last refuge and will extirpate everything which could prevent realization of a genuine universal federation of the peoples of the whole world.

The communist revolution will not only release the enormous productive energy of the masses on the economic plane. It will penetrate into all spheres of society and will everywhere liberate the great creative potential pent up among the masses. Education, scientific and technical training, the artistic and literary movements, organization of public health, building cities and shaping human behavior, will for the first time be opened to millions of proletarians and peasant poor whose economic slavery now systematically cripples their countless talents. Thereby the very nature of all these activities will in their turn undergo a radical and continuous transformation. Upon finally becoming the master of its own fate, humanity will by means of critical thought and method penetrate beyond the last re-

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maining shadows of the unknown and the spiritual growth and transformation of man's own nature will become the ultimate object of the permanent revolution. From the kingdom of necessity mankind will pass into the domain of freedom.

In a society which is running the risk of foundering into barbarism, but which is still pregnant with all these glorious possibilities, the Fourth International considers as realistic only that program which firmly sets for itself the goal of communism. To consecrate one's life today to the cause of the revolutionary emancipation of humanity is the only way to preserve human dignity amid the nightmare of the world in agony. To bewail the decline of civilization without offering the peoples a way to a better future is in reality to convert oneself into one more factor in the prevailing process of social decomposition. Only the program of communist revolution merits today sacrifices for its realization. Only this program gives the Fourth International the right to appeal today to the advanced workers of all countries to group themselves under its banner.

### **Our Victory Is Assured**

Twenty years ago Stalin brought the heavy hammer of his state machine down upon this program. Fanatically brutal, Stalin allied himself with the police of all countries in order to pursue, jail, and assassinate the precious revolutionary cadres who remained faithful to Leninism. A reactionary wave without parallel submerged the world. Today, after countless sacrifices and on the eve of new blows, the fighters of the Fourth International in twenty-five countries can proudly state that they have passed the test of this dark period of history. The example of the heroes of the civil war who refused to capitulate to Stalin's police; the example of the militants of the Russian Left Opposition struggling to the last breath of their lives in solitary prison cells in Siberia and the example of young Komsomols (Russian YCL'ers) dying before GPU execution squads with the cry of "Long Live Trotsky" on their lips—all this has not been in vain. Today Bolshevism lives again on five continents, its ideas are spreading and its organizations are gaining strength. For every lost martyr, ten new militants are arising. Having survived the terror of Stalin and the fury of Hitler, the Fourth International is confident of its future, for in it lives all the Marxism of our epoch, all the unconquerable emancipating will of the world proletariat. On the scale of a human life-span, its progress may seem slow. On the scale of history, its victory is already assured.

Locked in a life-and-death struggle with the Stalinist

bureaucratic usurpers, the Fourth International proudly lays claim to the traditions, ideas and lessons of the October Revolution. All the crimes of Stalin will not succeed in stamping out from the hearts of workers everywhere the memory of the most titanic overthrow in the history of humanity. Confronting capitalism and its ever more hideous decay; the Fourth International raises on a world scale the central idea of the Bolshevik revolution: "All power to the workers and poor peasants." Confronting the miserable agents of the class enemy inside the labor movement, the Fourth International forges the decisive instrument of proletarian victory: the world Bolshevik party. Confronting wars, ruins, and devastation the Fourth International firmly follows its historical mission: TO PREPARE THE WORLDWIDE OCTOBER.

### **Under the Banner of the Fourth International**

Today, in these proud days of celebrating the first centennial of scientific communism, on this May Day 1948, the day of combat, rally of the workers of the world, the Fourth International, amid gathering of its best militants from all the continents in its World Congress, pauses in remembrance of all the heroes who have fallen in the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. The fighters on the barricades of June, 1848, the soldiers of the Paris Commune, the workers of the First Petrograd Soviet, the victors of October and the Russian Civil War, the Spartacists of Germany and the fighters of the Hungarian, Bavarian and Cantonese Communes, the dynamiters of Asturia, and the militiamen of Barcelona, the warriors of the Vienna Schutzbund, and the Greek and French partisans, and all the countless soldiers of the colonial revolution — they will remain forever enshrined in memory as proof of the determined effort of the exploited class to tear the world out of the chaos of exploitation. The memory of all these warriors together with the already long list of its own martyrs, the Fourth International entrusts to the young generations of the world working class. To be worthy of their example means today to take one's place under the banner of the Fourth International.

*The Second World Congress of the Fourth International* world party of socialist revolution, calls upon the exploited and oppressed of all lands to unite in the struggle against all forms of slavery, against all governments and their agents. The struggle of the workers throughout the world is today one and the same—it is the struggle for the communist revolution.

Workers of the old revolutionary citadel of Paris, unite with the unconquerable young revolutionists of the Viet-Nam who are in revolt!

Miners of the Urals, unite with your fellow warriors of the United States!

Break out of your ruins, German workers, and unite with the workers of Great Britain!

Unite, workers of China, India, and all the colonies with the workers of the mother countries in a single battle against imperialist slavery!

**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE** under the banner of the Fourth International, so that this old war cry of the **COMMUNIST MANIFESTO** will become on the morrow the sovereign emblem of Communism triumphant!

*Second World Congress of the Fourth International*  
May 1, 1948.



## Price Rises Show Only Safeguard Is Sliding Wage Scale

By C. MEYER

In the factory, on the street-car, at the dinner table and union meetings, no matter where you go, the main topic of conversation is the high cost of living.

Soaring upwards at a staggering rate, the government cost of living index has advanced to the all-time high of 158.9; an increase of 2.6 during the preceding month. Basic necessities went up; food from 193.9 to 201.3, clothing from 174.8 to 175.4, etc. These figures are far below the estimates of the Workers Educational Association and union research directors; actually the inflation is far worse than the capitalist government admits.

The big question is what is to be done about these rising prices that are playing such havoc with the worker's living standards.

Only fools and knaves would look to help from the Government or the two boss parties, the Liberals and Conservatives. They are united in an unholy alliance with the monopolists, conspiring how to cheat and rob the workers of their hard earned wages.

But what about the traditional leaders of the working class movement?

## CCF BASE SHIFTS TO LABOR, UNIONS MUST ASSERT CONTROL

By PAUL KANE

The elections that have taken place in the past three months in five of the nine provinces, together with the three by-elections for the federal house, have revealed developments that are of vital importance for the Canadian working class.

Today the CCF, with a reputed membership of 70,000, has 32 members in the Ottawa House, remains in power in the province of Saskatchewan, and is the official opposition in four other provinces. In the eight federal by-elections held since 1945, the CCF vote has risen 58 per cent while that of the capitalist Liberal and Conservative parties dropped 12 and 18 per cent respectively. All three of the recent by-elections, two of which were in urban areas, were decisive CCF victories.

Not only has the CCF been consistently winning increased support in the population. But the most recent elections reveal that its electoral base is shifting in a fundamental sense. Prior to this year's elections the CCF's electoral base was confined almost entirely to the Prairie Provinces. The CCF was basically a middle class agrarian movement with no real roots in the industrial working class.

### NEW DEVELOPMENTS

Until the three recent by-election victories, only 5 of the 28 federal seats were in provinces other than Manitoba and Saskatchewan. And only two of these seats were in important urban areas.

On the provincial scene, in in-

dustrial Ontario, the CCF has partially recouped its 1945 losses by winning 22 out of 90 seats. Half of these seats were won in the industrial ridings in the Toronto district. The CCF did not even hold its own in the rural areas.

This shift in its electoral base from a rural farm population to urban working class population is clearly seen in the Saskatchewan and Alberta election results.

In Saskatchewan there was a 25 per cent increase in votes cast. The CCF vote increased 12 per cent. The bulk of the CCF increase came from the only three urban ridings in the province. In these ridings the CCF elected all six candidates and increased its vote 66 per cent. In the five seats that are mixed rural and urban, the CCF was elected in four, gained in four, and its total vote in all five rose 9 per cent. But in the 34 rural seats, despite the 12 per cent province-wide increase, the CCF vote declined almost 4 per cent.

### OVER THEIR HEADS

The same trend was shown in the Alberta elections but in the light of a decisive defeat at the hands of the demagogic Social Credit movement. Contrary to CCF hopes that the Ontario working class victory would be reflected in great gains in agrarian Alberta, the CCF won only two seats. Significantly both seats were in the only important urban areas of Edmonton and Calgary.

The developing transformation of the CCF from a populist, protest movement (for this is the nature

of its support in the Western middle class farm population) into a movement based on the working class, is taking place over the heads of the CCF leadership. The observation that the CCF is developing into a labor party based on the trade unions, in which sense alone it can play a progressive role in the march towards socialism, is characterized by the CCF press as a dirty smear.

### UNIONS WIN

Nonetheless the trade union movement on a nationwide scale is swinging behind the CCF. Ever since 1943 the Canadian Congress of Labor has endorsed the CCF as the political arm of labor. But this year the CCL took the resolution out of the convention hall and into action.

The Ontario Federation of Labor (CCL-CIO) was the nerve centre and backbone of the CCF campaign. So great has been rank and file pressure for political action that the conservative Ontario Provincial Federation of Labor (TLC-AFL) at its convention last spring almost unanimously passed a resolution to ditch the two old line parties. Many AFL unions participated in the CCF campaign.

Nor has this movement been limited to Ontario. In Saskatchewan the CCL unions swung their weight behind the CCF. The Saskatoon Labor Council (AFL) has just passed a resolution offering support to the CCF if it enters civic politics in that city. In Alberta the Mineworkers and Packinghouse

(Continued on page 2) →

## Fighting for Freedom



## BRITISH TERROR FAILS TO STEM MALAYANS

By KEN ANDREWS

Colonial revolts continue to shake the European colonies in the Far East. In Indo-China the Viet-Nam is winning its struggle to drive out the French imperialists. After three years, the Dutch "masters" are still fighting to keep their oil and other economic interests in the Indies. In Burma the British have their hands full, propping up the stooge "Independent" government which collaborates with British imperialism. But the most violent fighting is going on in Malaya, where the national struggle for freedom is the outgrowth of half a century of British subjugation and intolerable living conditions.

The British send Spitfires to strafe and terrorize villages suspected of being in the hands of the rebels. The Royal Navy patrols the coast to prevent the landing of arms from Siam or

the people, they are head-hunters' uncles. These ignorant of the dayan people, the most barbaric "bad men" from.

ISM role for a to play! After Labor Government's promises of freedom for this has been so much wind. Leaders of Britain the same of other capt-

are sent into the dictatorial with bayonets. Most helped their bloody Asian masses, showed ruth- they provoked lia by the divi-

the pretence of giving the natives a phony constitution. They dropped the fake "Independence" plan applied in such countries as India, Ceylon and Burma, and let loose a bloody war of conquest.

Malcolm MacDonald, Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia and the voice of Berlin, brutally expressed the truth about British plans for the colonial workers who dare rise against the British overlords.

In a radio broadcast to the Malayan people, he threatened: "The expectation of life of a terrorist from the moment of capture to the time of his death will be reduced to a matter of days."

A recent decree approved by the Singapore Legislative Council declares that all Malaysians will have to register to be fingerprinted and photographed, and will be forced to carry identification cards.

Several organizations of the Malayan workers and peasants have been banned, including the Malayan Federation of Trade Unions, numbering about 250,000 members, who have struck against starvation wages and engaged in political demonstrations against British rule; the Union of Former Anti-Japanese Fighters; the New Democratic Youth League; the Communist (Stalinist) Party; and several smaller parties that oppose British rule.

### IN SOLIDARITY

To help Britain keep its hold on the colonial masses, the "Labor" premier of Australia has ended the embargo on export of arms to the colonial countries. (The government was forced to enact this embargo some months ago, to end a longshoremen's boycott of shipments to Dutch forces in Indo-

# Electoral Base of C.C.F. Shifts to Labor— Trade Unions Must Determine Its Policies

Page 2

09-01-16

(Continued from Page 1)

Workers were solidly lined up behind the CCF campaign.

The trade union support of the CCF is a reflection of the increasing realization of the Canadian workers that they can no longer function in the old way and defend their unions and the gains that they have won.

Individual unions are becoming weaker in relation to the monopoly growth of industry. To win strikes it is necessary to set larger masses in motion. It is becoming increasingly difficult for the workers to combat the Big Business anti-labor drive solely on the economic plane. They are being driven into political action because political action generalizes the needs of the workers and addresses their demands not to the parts of the capitalist class but to the capitalist class as a whole organized in the state.

This whole development has taken place not through any "fault" of the CCF leaders. They have scarcely made a pretence of voicing labor's demands in the House of Commons. The CCF is becoming the recipient of this mass development in large part because it is an already established national party with an electoral apparatus, etc.

The biggest gap in the development of the CCF as a nation-wide movement remains, to the undying shame of the CCF leaders, the province of Quebec. The CCF leaders ignore the nationalist aspirations of the French Canadians and approach this one third of the population as an "English" party. But is it probable that the French-Canadian workers when explosively they move into the arena of political action; is it possible that they will by-pass a movement that already has the endorsement of the CCL and possesses a national apparatus?

The masses are flocking to it not because of its program but despite its program, not because of what it is in reality . . . a reformist prop of capitalism . . . but because of what it appears to be—a party of socialism. They are approaching it with many illusions as to its character . . . at the very moment when the CCF leadership in the name of socialism is attempting to purge the entire party program of what vestiges of socialist principle it con-

At the National Convention the National Council attempted to ram

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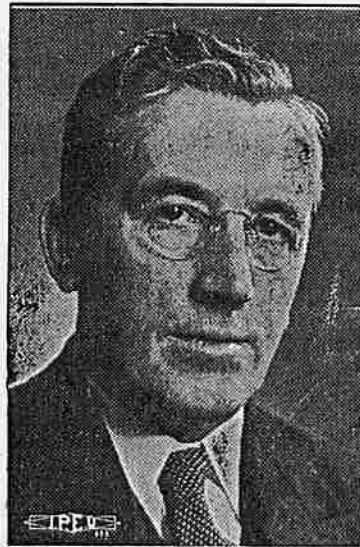
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through a resolution to dump the party's past position of nationalization of the banks in favor of merely placing controls over them. Blistering attacks from the floor that contained charges "of throwing socialization out in this resolution" (Hazen Argue, M.P.) defeated the Council's move by a vote of 94 to 56. A group of leading parliamentarians attempted to block the amendment on the pretence of not wanting to burden the first CCF government with categorical instructions from a convention of CCF delegates.

During the debate on the ERP resolution the CCF bureaucracy revealed its complete solidarity with Wall Street's imperialist subjugation of Europe and an unprecedented viciousness against the slightest opposition to its policies. Coldwell and Scott cut off debate and hammered through rejection of a modest amendment submitted by Rod Young, M.P., with a charge that opposition to ERP could only come from those who have been infiltrated by Communist propaganda.

While it is true that under the pressure of the top leadership the CCF has been moving rapidly to the right, it is nonetheless true that Coldwell and company have been compelled to recognize the shift in their electoral base and throw concessions to labor.

Until the recent elections CCF parliamentary representatives were, with only one or two exceptions, a collection of school teachers, ministers, and lawyers, completely divorced from the labor movement and not subject to its pressure. But the top leadership has been compelled to drop a few crumbs to win labor's support. It is no secret that Rod Young, winner of the Vancouver by-election, won the nomination much to the consternation of the top leadership. Another by-election winner was trade union organizer Arthur Williams. Half of the successful Ontario candidates were trade unionists. There were



M. J. COLDWELL

a considerable number of trade unionists as CCF candidates in Western elections.

However, these concessions to labor have come from the top in collaboration with the CCL bureaucracy. The CCL national leadership ruled that no CCL unions could run candidates in the Alberta elections. Conroy and Mosher are doing their best to protect the CCF leaders from an influx of trade union rank and file and to sharply confine the political development of the workers.

Today, five years since the CCL first endorsed the CCF as its political arm, there are still only a handful of unions affiliated to the CCF. The terms of affiliation are such as to be a barrier to this development. The CCF leadership is doing everything possible to prevent a mass influx of workers into party ranks and desires to utilize the unions solely for purposes of rolling up votes and funds.

Ostensibly designed to keep out the Stalinists, the leaders of the Ontario Federation of Labor passed a resolution that political action committees cannot be elected as the rank and file see fit but that committee members must be members of no other party than the CCF. The CCF leadership has shied away from even encouraging the formation of industrial CCF clubs. At the recent convention they were forced into setting up a

National CCF Trade Union Committee. But it too will be completely under the control of the national leadership and its purpose is merely to establish a liaison machine between the CCF and the trade union leadership, to "mobilize support during election campaigns" and to "secure money and personnel."

The victories of the CCF flowed from the growing political consciousness of the workers. The trade unions provided funds, personnel and apparatus, and in essence the victories were theirs. The trade unions must now demand the fruits of their labor. They must demand the decisive voice in the CCF. Terms of affiliation must be completely modified to permit the entrance of the union rank and file. And above all it is the unions that must determine CCF policy.

# LABOR CHALLENGE

(62) September 1948

9-01-2

## Minneapolis CIO Asks Rights of 18 Restored

The CIO County Council in Minneapolis has adopted a resolution demanding that the Truman administration restore the civil rights of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Drivers Local 544 CIO leaders imprisoned during the war under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act.

Prominent among the 18 who suffered persecution under this vicious legislation passed by the Roosevelt regime were Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson. Both Dobbs and Carlson were railroaded to federal penitentiary because they stood against imperialist war and for socialism. Today Dobbs and Carlson are the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist) candidates for president and vice-president of the United States.

The resolution adopted by the Minneapolis CIO condemns Washington's "all-out war on civil liberties" and charges that the planned frame-up of the 12 C.P. leaders under the Smith Act is part of a pattern to turn the US into a "thought-control police state."

### REVERSES STAND

The resolution completely reverses the stand taken by the Council at the time of the Minneapolis Trials. However, the 12 Stalinist leaders are now under indictment on the same count of the Smith Act for which the Trotskyists were railroaded to prison — "advocacy of the overthrow of the government by force and violence."

The Stalinists who dominate the Council attempted to push through a resolution dealing only with the Communist Party case but making no reference to the first and only convictions which set the precedent for the CP indictments.

A counter resolution was introduced which linked up the case of the CP with that of the Trotskyists. It contained the demand for the restoration of civil rights to the 18. The two resolutions were combined and passed by an overwhelming majority. The combined resolution in addition to demanding the quashing of the indictments against the CP leaders and the repeal of the Smith Act stands in sharp contrast with the Council's wartime opposition to support of the Trotskyists in the statement that "such indictments have in the past been prosecuted for lack of united mass protest of the labor movement."

### STALINIST ROLE

Shortly after the sentencing of the 18 SWP leaders, the *Daily Worker* of Dec. 19, 1941, bemoaned the fact that the Trotskyists were jailed as revolutionary socialists instead of being framed in Moscow Trials style as a "fifth column to Hitler." The Stalinists rejoiced that the local labor movement gave no support to the Trotskyists although hundreds of organizations including trade unions, Labor's Non-Partisan League, Negro, and civil rights organizations, representing over five million members did give financial and moral support to the Smith Act's first victims.

The SWP and its presidential and vice-presidential candidates Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, are being commended in labor circles for their principled stand in calling for working class solidarity and a united front to defend the indicted CP leaders from a frame-up, in spite of the shameful policy pursued by the Stalinists against the 18 convicted Trotskyists.



# LABOR CHALLENGE

A monthly paper bringing the truth about labor's struggle for socialism to the working people of Canada.

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"To rationalize life, i.e. to transform it according to the dictates of reason, is not possible without the rationalization of production, for the roots of the conditions of life lie in economics. It is only Socialism that has set itself the task of embracing reason and subjecting all the activities of man to it."

—Leon Trotsky.

## Open the Books

In the past few weeks, corporations have "pulled a fast one" on several unions, persuading their leadership to scuttle wage demands and even to accept wage-cuts in the face of soaring prices.

For this ruthless sleight-of-hand, the corporations have perverted the powerful labor slogan of "Open the Books," and used it as a hypnotic crystal. Dazzled by the sudden willingness of the profiteers to "show the figures," the labor bureaucrats have let the bosses pick the pockets of the workers.

At the Morrison Brass plant in Toronto, the United Steelworkers Local 9246 settled for a meager 3-cent hourly raise, after the steel barons convinced International Representative Cleve Kidd that they "couldn't afford" to pay the 40-cent original demand.

Then 120 employees of the Benedict Proctor Silver Manufacturing Plant have submitted to wage-cuts of five to fifteen per cent. The owner, H. J. Craddock, had threatened to shut down the plant, charging that the workers were not producing enough to "justify" their wages. AFL Jewelry Workers' representative E. W. Gardiner and organizer Russell Harvey, quickly took the company's word for the situation. They recommended the wage-slash to the stunned workers, who now wonder how they will live on decreased pay.

Instead of seizing the opportunity to examine the books, these bureaucrats swallowed the bosses' line, and imposed their will on the ranks of the workers. But the slogan of "Open the Books," first raised by the Trotskyist movement a decade ago and effectively used by the GM workers in their 1946 wage drive, has an entirely different meaning.

In the case of steel, it was the duty of the union investigator to lay bare the vast profiteering; the fantastic executive salaries and bonuses; the lush dividends; the fraudulent "reserves" that are additional profits drained from the working class. Instead of accepting profits as a "legitimate expense" of the capitalists, the workers must ex-

pose and fight them as a theft of the wealth they produce.

The fact that some individual capitalists may offer to open their books to prove bankruptcy—in order to lower wages—cannot be allowed to halt the workers' demands. The workers must answer that they are not interested in the bookkeeping of individual capitalists, but in the books of the capitalist class as a whole. The workers cannot afford to, nor do they want to, tear their own living standards down in order to save the financial skins of the bosses.

If an examination of the books shows that some capitalists are bankrupt or semi-bankrupt, a result of the workings of their own system of production, then the workers must carry the fight further. They must undertake the task of reorganizing the whole system of production and distribution on a rational basis, with the expropriation of the idle plants and their operation under the control of the workers themselves.

\* \* \*

## To Our Readers

It is with deep regret that we must inform the readers and friends of *Labor Challenge* that conditions beyond our control force us to take severe measures of retrenchment. At the present time, we must cut back to monthly publication; we cannot continue a twice-monthly paper in the immediate future without incurring a deficit that would jeopardize all other essential tasks of the Revolutionary Workers Party.

Although hundreds of new subscribers were obtained a few months ago, our circulation and our resources are not enough to cope with the raging inflation. The dizzy price-spiral hits hardest at the workers whose dollars and dimes make possible the publication of *Labor Challenge*.

Last January, we were forced to seriously cut our small staff. We have exerted every effort to maintain our press with curtailed forces, but we find it is no longer possible to do so.

We carry no commercial advertising, and have no revenue other than the contributions made at great sacrifice by workers who want to further our ideas and program. We cannot increase our subscription price without making it more difficult for the worker-victims of the same inflation, to read *Labor Challenge* and use it as a guide in their struggles.

But at the same time that we are forced to make this temporary retreat, we proudly announce that the Revolutionary Workers Party is undertaking new tasks vital to the Canadian and world labor movement.

Our comrades in Quebec will shortly begin to publish a French-language paper in mimeographed form, to spread the ideas of Trotskyism among the most exploited third of our population. The RWP has also undertaken to publish the Manifesto of the Second World Congress of the Fourth International, on behalf of all English-speaking revolutionists.

We hope it will soon be possible to follow these important steps with a return to the twice-monthly *Labor Challenge*. Meanwhile, we are certain that our friends will rally to the monthly with all the devotion they have shown to the twice-monthly edition.

September, 1948

(62)

**LABOR CHALLENGE**

## *An Open Letter to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia*

The following letter was sent by the Fourth International secretariat to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

Paris, July 1, 1948

To the Central Committee and to All Members of the  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA

Comrades,

We want to let you know that the attention of the entire international revolutionary workers' movement is today centered on the conflict in which you have, for some time, been pitted against the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party and the Cominform.

The official press of the Communist parties is seeking to engulf you in a flood of slanders and insults. Their conduct is a good example of how proletarian democracy is dragged in the mud by these people who operate from Moscow the entire international machine which is at the service of the Soviet bureaucracy.

But we are not in the least duped by this system of slander campaigns which has in the past destroyed so many precious forces in the labor movement. Because under the worst difficulties, we have never ceased for one moment, ever since Lenin died, to continue his struggle in Russian and in the entire world for the world communist revolution, against capitalist and imperialist reaction, and against the Soviet bureaucracy which usurped Lenin's party and the whole Communist International.

We know with what sinister inflexibility the bureaucratic machine in Moscow tries to nip in the bud every aspiration of independence or even a sign of a critical attitude toward itself. This Soviet bureaucracy has nothing in common with the Bolshevism of Lenin and the genuine defense of what still remains of the October conquests in the Soviet Union. The struggle—which has, since 1927, destroyed in Russia the entire Old Guard of the Bolshevik Party of the days of the October Revolution—was led by the Thermidorians of the Russian revolution, who were able temporarily to triumph over the proletarian revolutionary wing of Russian Bolshevism.

Now you are in a position to understand, in the light of the infamous campaign of which you are the victims, the real meaning of the Moscow trials and of the whole Stalinist struggle against Trotskyism.

You hold in your hands a mighty power if only you summon enough strength to persevere on the road of the socialist revolution and its program. This road is also the road of independence from the bureaucratic apparatus of Moscow. Looking for a way out are tremendous forces in the entire world labor movement—now caught in a vise between imperialism led from Washington on the one side, and on the other, the Soviet bureaucracy in the Kremlin, interested solely in keeping its own privileged caste interests in Russia.

Keep up your fight! Deepen the significance of your struggle with Moscow and its international machine! Do not yield to imperialist pressures! Establish a regime of genuine workers' democracy in your party and in your country! Thereby you will contribute immensely to the rebirth of the international workers' movement.

The International Secretariat of the Fourth International, the organization which unites around its program of Bolshevism and Leninism, 35 sections on the five continents, wants to address itself in this our first message to you not concerning those things about which we must be critical of you with regards to your past and more recent course. We wish rather to take note of the promise in your resistance—the promise of victorious resistance by a revolutionary workers party against the most monstrous bureaucratic machine that has ever existed in the labor movement, the Kremlin machine.

We shall presently address to you and to your Congress and to all Yugoslav communists an open letter in which we shall treat in detail with our point of view on the historic meaning of your conflict with Moscow and its Cominform.

Long live the Yugoslav Socialist Revolution! Long Live the Proletarian World Revolution!

International Secretariat of  
The Fourth International.

09-01-4

## RWP in Action

# Boosting the Challenge

Branches of the RWP moved into action last month to bring home to Stalinized workers the full implications of the Stalin-Tito rupture. The Windsor and Vancouver branches distributed large numbers of the July issue of *Labor Challenge* which contained an appeal to LPP members to re-examine their position in the light of this important event. Reports from the branches indicate considerable ferment within the LPP and above all within its foreign language peripheral groups.

The Toronto branch translated the letter from the International Secretariat of the Fourth International to the Yugoslav Communist Party into the Croatian language. This letter appeals to the Yugoslav workers to draw all the lessons of the Cominform expulsion and move onto the road of revolutionary socialism (reproduced in this issue).

The first opportunity to use the leaflet was the occasion of a farewell banquet given to 300 Yugoslavs who are returning to the old country. A squad of comrades distributed the leaflet together with the last two issues of *Labor Challenge* containing the World Congress Manifesto.

Comrade Sonia reports that the Stalinist flunkies in charge of the affair were completely non-plussed by the distribution and above all that the leaflet was in Croatian and

therefore could be readily understood by all the workers.

"They first threatened us that we had better leave in 10 minutes or else. After we showed them that we weren't sheep that run when the hound yaps, they tried to intimidate the people who were guests into refusing the leaflet. But that did not work so well either. One fellow told us that 'there isn't a man strong enough to take the paper from me'."

Other branches of the party are planning to further this distribution wherever possible.

Toronto comrades also report successful paper sales at a Civil Rights meeting called in support of the striking members of the Canadian Seamen's Union. Twenty copies were sold to an audience that totalled about 125. Another dozen or so copies were sold at a public rally called by the LPP in protest of the rise in meat prices, despite Stalinist attempts to interfere.

In the last month two successful street corner meetings were held. Both attracted an audience of about 75 workers who showed considerable interest in the speakers' analysis of the Liberal and Conservative Party conventions, explanation of the sliding scale of wages as a weapon to fight the high cost of living, etc. At one of the meetings 38 copies of the paper were sold and several interest cards signed and handed in.

## Just Off the Press!

### Manifesto of the Second World Congress of the Fourth International to the Exploited Masses of the World

- *Against Wall Street and the Kremlin!*
- *For the Program of the "Communist Manifesto!"*
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## B. C. Unions Win Sliding Scale Clause

By R. BLAKE

Special to Labor Challenge

VANCOUVER.—Several unions on the West Coast have recently won agreements including some form of cost-of-living bonus, a variation on the sliding scale of wages.

It is interesting to note how this method of protecting wage increases long advocated by Labor Challenge has taken hold here. The sliding scale, demanded by Trotskyites and militants in the trade unions, has been ignored or opposed by the right-wing bureaucrats and viciously assailed by the Stalinists. But rising pressure from the rank and file has won its recognition.

However, since these clauses were really adopted against their will, the bureaucrats wrote clauses that are weak in some ways and leave much to be desired. While they give some protection to the basic wage increases, they don't do all that a really protective sliding scale could accomplish.

### TWO AGREEMENTS

Let's look at the agreements accepted by the CCL Electrical Trades Union, Local 1, in Vancouver.

One is signed with the leading firms in the building industry. It establishes a wage increase of 20 cents an hour, effective Sept. 1st, 1948, and provides for revisions on Dec. 1, March 1, and June 1, at the rate of five cents for every five-point change in the cost-of-living index published by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. It also says that if the DBS figure hits 120 points or drops to 140, the entire wage will be open for renegotiation.

Unfortunately, this could allow the basic wage to be cut below the new gains. The clause should have been written to make the new rate including the 20-cent increase, a floor below which wages could not drop.

The same union signed an agreement September 2 for its members employed in the Marine Industry, with a 13½-cent hourly raise for all jobs. It continues, "such wage rates shall be adjusted in accordance with the increases in the cost of living statistics at the rate of 25 cents per week per point of increase above the figures of July 1, 1948. Such adjustments are to be made upon the publication of the cost-of-living index for Nov. 1, 1948, and March 1 1949 and effective

cal workers get a full cent per point.

Thus there is considerable confusion among the workers, due entirely to the policy of the union leadership.

The Electrical Trades Union, together with 11 other unions (including the Stalinist-led CCL Marine Workers and Boilermakers Industrial Union, representing between 70 and 80 per cent of the shipyard workers) were jointly negotiating an agreement with the shipyard operators.

The consolidated minimum demand of these conferring unions was essentially the gain won by the Electrical Union in the building industry: 20 cents per hour increase, plus a one-cent-per-point increase quarterly based on the cost-of-living index.

But the Marine Electrical Workers' representatives and the majority of the other unions in the joint committee, wanted to drop the consolidated wage proposals and bolt for the bosses' offer of 13½ cents and a 5/8-cent cost-of-living bonus. The Stalinist "Policy Committee" of the Boilermakers recommended acceptance of the company offer, and despite the bitter objections of one or two militants, the membership voted to accept.

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### Guest From Ottawa



OTTAWA NEWS DESPATCH, SEPT. 25.—"Within the next two weeks, the government is expected to announce its policy on removal of rental controls . . . the federal government has decided to get out of rental controls entirely as of March 31."

## OTTAWA SPEEDS UP PREPARATIONS FOR WORLD WAR III

By R. NORTON

Day by day, knot by knot, Ottawa binds Canada more tightly to the Wall Street war machine. Seizing the issue of the stalemate in Berlin, the government spokesmen fill the air waves and the newspapers with anti-Soviet propaganda, while they draw the blueprint for Canada's role in the approaching "hot" war. Plans based on the expectation of a long "cold war" between Washington and Moscow, are being scrapped; hysterical denunciations of the USSR go hand in hand with rapid preparations for armed conflict.

Full participation of Canada in a North Atlantic "security pact" under the control of Wall Street, is urged by Defense Minister Claxton and Acting Prime Minister St. Laurent. The Toronto Globe and Mail, voice of Bay Street, calls ever more loudly for Canadian planes and men to join the "Berlin airlift"—so that Canada will be directly involved in any incident that occurs.

A dispatch from Ottawa to the Winnipeg Citizen, Sept. 22, listed a series of steps toward war as "among the more significant developments reported here."

"Acting Prime Minister St. Laurent's persistent advocacy of a North Atlantic security system . . . has led informed sources in the capital to predict that the Dominion will become part of such a regional security project within a year. . . ."

### "FRESH IMPETUS"

"The Britain-Canada-U.S. arms standardization project is reported to have received fresh impetus, with Canadian efforts redoubled to secure agreement between the two major participants."

"The recruiting program for the three armed services has been intensified greatly in recent months and there is evidence that their combined authorized strength — not reached to date — will be increased. . . ."

"The development of the 'Chinook,' the unique two-seater jet fighter which has been designed

and will be manufactured in Canada, is being speeded up. . . ."

"Original plans called for a small 'professional' army, navy and air force, which would become the nuclei of larger forces in the event of an emergency. The new trend is towards 'forces in being' requiring more manpower."

"The services are understood to be receiving a greater flow of new weapons now than hitherto, rather than wait for the improved versions of the future which might be superior but which might not be available when most needed."

"It was disclosed recently that the first two regular RCAF fighter interceptor squadrons will be in existence within nine months, that six of eight auxiliary squadrons are in various stages of preparation and that the first regular bomber squadron will be activated soon."

### SAME PICTURE

"This is all of a piece with the headlong rush toward war by American imperialism and all its satellites. It is part of the same picture as 'peacetime' conscription in the United States, the integration of Latin-American armed forces with Wall Street's, the flurry of armaments in Britain, the arming of the most reactionary dictatorships in Europe including the governments of Greece and Turkey."

In World War II, Canada had a million men under arms, out of a population of twelve million; 100,000 armed workers and farmers were casualties; the people were burdened with a war bill of over 12 billion dollars, paid for today in the highest taxes and most terrible inflation in our history."

All this was nothing, compared to the price the Canadian masses will

(Continued on Page 4)

## \$15,000 Goal Set In Drive For Labor Challenge Fund

By ALLAN GORRIE  
Campaign Director

A goal of \$1,500 by Nov. 30 to support Labor Challenge has been set by branches and members of the Revolutionary Workers Party. With events moving at such a rapid tempo on the world scale—the danger of another war, the ruptures in the Stalinist parties, the rising threat of de Gaulle in France, colonial revolts—Labor Challenge becomes more and more necessary as a guide to world events.

Labor Challenge brings to trade unionists a program of militant struggle against the bosses, the government, and their present false leaders who fail to defend their interests. It brings news of the activities of all sections of the Fourth International, news which is reliably reported in Canada only by Labor Challenge. It publishes articles of lasting importance on the

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historic struggles of the working class of every country.

It is an indispensable weapon for all who would pierce the lies of the capitalist press. It is a tool that is forged from the contributions of workers alone. No advertisements are solicited or accepted from corporations; there are no wealthy subsidizers of our press. We ask for and need YOUR help, to maintain and increase the power of Labor Challenge.

Vancouver comrades inform us that they have accepted their quota and that \$145 has already been pledged. It is planned to visit friends of the paper, in order to secure further contributions. Word has also been received from outside points in B.C. announcing that their quotas have been accepted.

J.C. of Lloydminster, Alta., has sent in \$10 with the promise that "if I find it possible to increase this before Nov. 30 I will."

Toronto comrades are well on their way to fulfilling their quota with \$420 pledged and \$75 already received. One young worker has set a fine example by pledging \$100 to the fund. He challenges anyone to match him. All comrades are engaged in an extensive canvass of party sympathizers to put Toronto over the top as soon as possible.

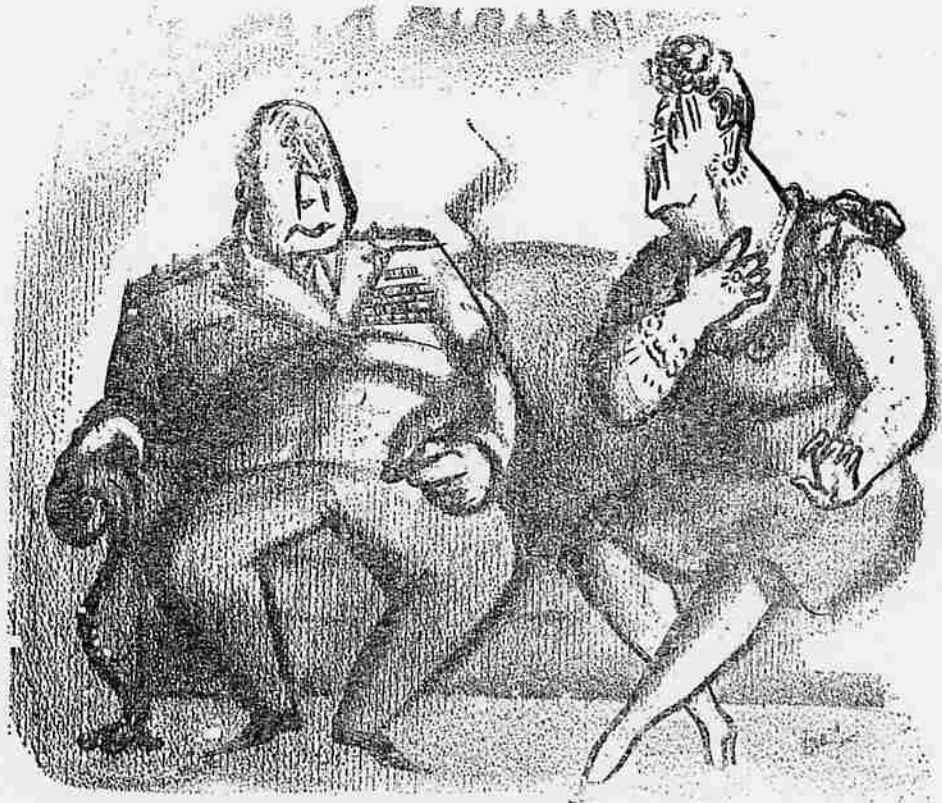
From Windsor we have already received \$75, with word that their quota has been accepted. We are sure that Windsor Trotskyists will even better the fine record they made last year.

This starts us off with a bang: \$160 on hand as the campaign opens. Let's put it over the top in record time!

Branches and comrades-at-large should forward funds regularly, so that their standing can be reported in the next issue of Labor Challenge.

We ask all readers to help in this financial drive. The high cost of living has made all of our finances more slender, and Labor Challenge is no exception. The coming period will offer many opportunities for revolutionary work and it will be a great misfortune if we are unable to take advantage of them because of lack of funds. Contributions should be sent to:

**LABOR CHALLENGE**  
87 King St. W. - Room 5  
Toronto 1, Ont.



"And besides, General, it would be a terrible waste of the taxpayers' money if we DIDN'T use the atom bomb and our Arctic bases!"

## MOVIE REVIEW

### THE TREASURE OF SIERRA MADRE

This excellent movie comes as a pleasant shock after the interminable series of boy-meets-girl, musicals and whodunits that the Hollywood sausage machine grinds out. Simply as an adventure film it will keep you on the edge of your seat from beginning to end. But it is more than an adventure film. It is a realistic picture of the degenerating effect that gold has on men.

The story starts off with Dobbs "on the beach" in Tampico, Mexico. Flat broke, he washes in the public fountain, bums Americans for hand-

outs. Finally he lands a job as a construction worker for an oil field rigger. This rigger works his crew to death and then skips without paying them.

Tired of bumming around Tampico, Dobbs and a fellow construction worker seize upon a stroke of fortune to go on a prospecting trip with an old prospector they have met in the flophouse.

This old man is not only a spry old gold hunter but a man with a mature philosophy of life. He maps out a trip to the remotest mountain districts. The three partners face the dangers of bandits and, after

they have made a strike, the inquisitiveness of a wandering prospector.

But the core of the story is the change wrought in the characters of the partners after they have found gold and thereby become men of property. Originally three down-and-outers, they had no fears of being robbed and murdered. Nor did they fear one another. But as the gold dust mounts, so does the mutual distrust until it drives Dobbs to murder and insanity. The gold, instead of serving the prospectors, becomes their master.

Credit must be given to John Huston for a superb directing job.

## Jailed 2 Years, Indonesian Tan Malaka Reported Free

By JOSEPH HANSEN

Tan Malaka, imprisoned since 1946 by heads of the Indonesian Republic on the charge that he supports the revolutionary socialist program of Leon Trotsky, has been released, according to a September 16 United Press dispatch from Batavia. Well-known as a leader among Javanese Communists when the Third International was a genuine revolutionary organization, Tan Malaka had broken with Stalinism years ago.

In Surakarta, largest city in the territory held by the Republic, fighting was reported to "have broken out between Stalinist and Trotskyist Communists." The relative size of the two groups, their programs and the exact differences between them was not given. Likewise unclear was a Sept. 17 Associated Press dispatch that a "three-way battle among Trotskyite and Stalinite Communists and Army and Navy units in Surakarta had spread" and "paralyzed" the city.

These confused and garbled reports were followed by news that a Soviet-type government had been set up in Madiun under leadership of Musso, alleged to be a "Moscow-trained Communist leader." Musso returned to Indonesia on Aug. 20 according to the story, and within a few weeks united the Stalinists, the Socialist Party, the Labor Party and SOBSI, the Trade Union Federation.

Musso's program was said to include "confiscation of all industrial enterprises by the Government, placing a military force in the hands of the people and setting up of internal security committees" as well as "Land for those who toil it."

In response to the events in Madiun, the Indonesian Provisional Parliament granted unlimited powers to President Soekarno. A decree banned "all left wing newspapers." Trade union and Communist Youth Movement headquarters were raided and hundreds of persons arrested. Martial law was proclaimed "for all workers throughout the Indonesian Republic" and Soekarno called for the "recapture of Madiun as soon as possible."

Meanwhile, the Dutch Government decreed "communist action" in Indonesia to be a "criminal of-

fense," and rushed its colonial governor van Mook by plane to the Far East. The Dutch have sought to crush the Indonesian Republic by military force.

In Washington, the State Department declared it was "watching closely the Communist movement in Southeast Asia." Such companies as Goodyear, General Motors and Standard Oil have big holdings in this fabulously wealthy colonial area.

The State Department has consistently backed Dutch imperialism in its war on Indonesia. Without American arms, dollars and supply lines, the Dutch colonial despots could not have successfully invaded Indonesia. Part of the Dutch forces were even trained in the United States.

While it is impossible to pierce the heavy smoke-screen of censorship and draw exact conclusions about the particular happenings in Indonesia, the general course of events is clear.

The nationalist heads of the Indonesian Government betrayed the Republic and the cause of independence by giving up militant struggle against the Dutch. Consequently, the Indonesian people began seeking more militant leaders to replace them.

This leadership can be found only in the working class. There, in turn, the search for leadership brings to the fore the most dynamic and revolutionary forces.

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# Letter to Yugoslav Communist Part

The International Secretariat of the Fourth International has issued the following open letter to the Central Committee and members of the Yugoslav Communist Party in connection with the conclusion of the Fifth Party Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party:

Comrades:

Although you thought it necessary to limit participation in your Fifth Party Congress exclusively to delegations from the Communist parties—none of whom have accepted your invitation—our movement has attached special importance to the discussion and decisions of your Congress.

The course you have decided to follow is now clear: It is to defend yourselves against the accusations hurled by the Cominform without breaking with the Russian Communist Party and with Stalin, the real instigators of the campaign in progress against you. We greet your determination not to capitulate to Stalin; but we note with regret the self-contradictory character of your defense against the Kremlin's attack.

Your leaders and delegates at the Congress have emphasized the fact that there are no programmatic differences whatever between your party and the ideology of the Kremlin. It appears that you share this ideology on two fundamental points: on the possibility of building socialism in one country; and on the "monolithic" character of the revolutionary party, which means the expulsion of any ideological tendencies that might some time advocate policies different from those of the party leadership.

Your leaders and delegates at the Congress have reaffirmed the position, long held by your party, to the effect that Yugoslavia is already a country where socialism is being built and that it is possible to do this, to be sure only partially, thanks to the aid of the Soviet Union and of the other "new democracies." This aid is, however, now reduced by and large to the economic reprisals against you imposed by the Kremlin on all its satellites.

The conception of "socialism in one country" was never shared by Marx or Lenin. It is Stalin who, toward the end of 1924, introduced it into the Russian Communist Party and the Third International as a theoretical cover for his own

nationalistic policy, which mirrored the interests of the then budding Soviet bureaucracy and which has revealed itself as more and more hostile to the world socialist revolution. In formulating this anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist "theory," Stalin took care to generalize it for his own needs and to underline the special, as it were, "Messianic" character of the USSR, whose size and resources allegedly permitted the building of socialism to be realized in life.

More than 20 years have elapsed and the Soviet Union is still very far from having attained this objective. On the contrary, the victory of the Soviet bureaucracy, which succeeded, in expropriating the masses politically and installing the most bureaucratic police regime in the annals of history in order to maintain and extend its own privileges, has resulted in the utter degeneration of the Soviet Union as a workers' state.

You have had occasion to observe this degeneration in a number of facts which, limited as they are, nonetheless remain very significant. Among these facts are: the life of Russian military and civil functionaries on a bourgeois pattern; the systematic spying by the GPU—the chief vehicle of the Kremlin's policies—on your party and your government; the Kremlin's opposition to the Balkan Federation or any progressive unification of the economies of the various "People's Democracies," a unification which is so indispensable for their development; the bureaucratic and slanderous character of the Cominform attacks directed by the Kremlin.

What then will be the fate of Yugoslavia, if she, under far less favorable material conditions, enters the utopian road of "building socialism" within her own frontiers? Such a "theory," here too, carries with it the danger of serving as a cover for nationalistic policies of a privileged bureaucratic caste.

In our epoch of the world-wide division of labor and the world

character of the productive forces whose development has already brought the capitalist countries into collision with their own national boundaries, socialism can flourish only on the world arena. To think that each country can by itself build its own "socialist" society and will later associate itself with the other because of ideological kinship—to think in this way is to fall into petty-bourgeois utopianism, blinded completely to the realities of our epoch. Victory over capitalism, the victory of the proletarian revolution is possible in a single country, but the achievement of socialist construction is not possible without the joint efforts of at least a considerable number of countries, including the most advanced ones.

To realize socialism in life in Yugoslavia would mean to attain a level of development of the productive forces far surpassing those of the most advanced capitalist countries; it would mean the complete elimination of the differences between the city and the countryside, the building of a classless society where material abundance would already reign and where the state would have already lost its functions of coercion, becoming reduced to a simple administration of things, without police, without judges, without prisons and without a bureaucracy. In what historical perspective can such a goal be reached in Yugoslavia, a country predominantly agricultural and with very limited resources?

On the other hand, what is actually possible is to begin the building of socialism, while waiting for the extension of the proletarian revolution to other countries. The true framework for the socialist development of Yugoslavia is, to begin with, the Balkan Socialist Federation and the Socialist United States of Europe.

As regards your "monolithic" conception of the revolutionary party, this also stems from the arsenal of Stalinism but not from Marx and Lenin. The revolutionary party, by its very nature, democratic, permitting the free presentation and struggle of ideological tendencies in its ranks.

The Bolshevik Party of Lenin to the very day he died had nothing in common with the horrible caricature set up by Stalin's bureaucratic and police apparatus, which sealed its victory over the Soviet masses with the blood of Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin and then of Trotsky, i.e., of the men who made the Russian Revolution and who led the Communist International while Lenin lived.

The "monolithic" conception of the revolutionary party is the unmistakable sign of a Bonapartist bureaucracy which sets itself up over and above the masses and the party. If you cling to this concep-

tion you will head inexorably toward the foundering of your revolution and of your own party; you will travel toward the definitive installation in Yugoslavia of a bureaucratic-police dictatorship in the image of Stalin's regime.

Your Congress has not deemed it necessary to probe more deeply into the meaning of your conflict with the Cominform, contenting itself with affirming the slanderous character of the Cominform accusations, while covering up the Russian Communist Party and Stalin, i.e., the real leaders of the campaign against you. This fact alone is a sign of grave danger.

What reasons impell you to feign ignorance of who is behind a Hodja or a Rakosi, a Dimitrov, a Thorez or an Anna Pauker, when they attack your party, your government, when they conspire to overthrow your leadership, when they issue decrees to institute an economic blockade against Yugoslavia? What is the meaning of your silence about the Kremlin and about Stalin, whose obedient puppets all of the above men and women are? And how is it possible for this Kremlin and this Stalin, who conduct this entire campaign, to truly represent inside the labor movement a leadership faithful to Marxism-Leninism?

If this were actually the case, then history would be only a sinister farce, and your conflict with the Cominform would be only a scene in this farce, incomprehensible to any one who seeks to reason.

Your position is truly untenable and can have no results other than to demoralize your party and the Yugoslav masses, while playing into the hands of your enemies, the direct agents of the Kremlin who have sworn to destroy your leadership and your party. Your conflict with the Cominform has in reality placed on the order of the day one single question, namely: **THE NATURE OF THE STALINIST REGIME WHICH, THROUGH THE KREMLIN, LEADS THE USSR AND THE COMMUNIST PARTIES.**

This regime has nothing in common with the proletarian revolution and socialism. It is the mouthpiece of the Soviet bureaucracy, consolidated into a privileged and uncontrollable caste inside the Soviet Union, applying throughout the entire world a policy strictly in defense of its own interests. The Communist parties serve as tools for this policy thanks to the Soviet bureaucracy's direct and absolute control over these parties. The Kremlin has likewise sought to establish such a direct and absolute control over your own party and government. You tried to resist, and, from that moment, a life-and-death conflict with the Kremlin regime became unavoidable.

It is your duty as well as in your

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# LABOR CHALLENGE

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own self-interest to raise the clarification of your conflict with the Cominform to the plane of the true ideological reasons, which pertain to the nature of Stalinism. Only in this way will you be able to arm your party and the Yugoslav masses and resist the formidable assault launched against you by the Kremlin, now bent on wiping you out.

Bureaucrats depend only on the police apparatus for their defense.

Revolutionists depend above all on the ideological and political mobilization of the masses.

Which of these roads will you choose?

Stalin plots against Yugoslavia because your resistance to his direct and absolute control can become a dangerously contagious example. He cannot seek grounds for a compromise. He must wipe you out. In this terrible predicament, your sole defense is the conscious support of the Yugoslav and world masses.

Yugoslav Communists! Appeal to these masses for this support! Break with Stalinism and denounce it openly! Institute a real regime of proletarian democracy in the party and in the country! Crush every bureaucratic move in your own ranks! Take the road of the real proletarian revolution, made by the masses and for the masses.

Issue a call for the real proletarian revolution in other countries of Eastern Europe! And for all of Europe and the world! This is the hour neither for tricky maneuvers nor for opportunist considerations. It is necessary to march in the vanguard. It is necessary to confront Stalin face to face with the open face of Revolutionary Marxism.

International Secretariat,  
Fourth International,  
September, 1948.

10-01-36

***Vancouver Readers!***

***Hear***

**Ross Dowson**

**National Sec'y, Revolutionary Workers Party**

**SUNDAY, OCT. 24th**

**8 p.m.**

**Swedish Community Hall - 1320 E. Hastings St.**

*Auspices: Vancouver Branch, RWP*

Editor, ROSS DOWSON

Subscription: 50 cents for one year subscription (12 issues)

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"In the capitalist states the most monstrous forms of bureaucratism are to be observed precisely in the trade unions . . . It is thanks to this that the whole structure of capitalism now stands upright, above all in Europe and especially in England. If there were not a bureaucracy of the trade unions, then the police, the army, the courts, the lords, the monarchy would appear before the proletarian masses as nothing but pitiful and ridiculous playthings."

— Leon Trotsky.

## An Injury to All

Speaking of relations between their two countries, the capitalist politicians wax oratorical about "the great undefended and unfortified imaginary line between Canada and the United States." Recent events have rudely brought home to millions of organized workers who live north and south of it, just how imaginary and undefended that line really is.

Once trade union organizers or delegates to conventions crossed the border practically at will. Today, all that has changed. In their drive to smash the unions, American Big Business and its Canadian junior partner are closing the door to union representatives.

They began first with the deportation from Canada of the American Stalinist leaders of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO). Then Canadian Stalinist bureaucrats in various unions like the International Woodworkers of America, CIO-CCL, AFL chemical workers, and UE were barred from the U.S.A. Top AFL and CIO bureaucrats in Washington and their counterparts in the TLC and CCL at Ottawa supported this attack on the union movement.

But these servile red-baiters soon had their payoff. Delegates from Toronto locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO-CCL, on their way to a convention in the United States, were turned back at the border. Then Fred Dowling, Canadian director and international vice-president of the United Packinghouse Workers, CIO-CCL, was refused admission to the U.S. It is well-known that none of these people are either Stalinists or "dangerous agitators," but supporters of the official trade union bureaucracy.

Once again red-baiting has proved to be a two-edged sword that has struck those who use it in the labor movement. As much as militant workers hate and despise the Stalinists for bureaucracy, sudden turns and sellouts, they must fight for their democratic rights under the slogan, "an injury to one is an injury to all." Every worker who will uphold the democratic rights won in the past and fight for a better life is considered by the bosses to be "subversive." Red-baiting is aimed only first at the Stalinists because their record makes them the easiest mark. But its real goal is the destruction of the labor movement.

In the face of the capitalist offensive the present trade union leadership has proved itself incapable of defending past gains. Such people will be incapable of winning new ones tomorrow. Obviously, the need for a new leadership with a militant program is becoming daily more urgent.

## The Russian Emigres

The sensational development of the Russian school teacher who jumped out of the third story window of the Soviet Consulate in New York last month, drove all other news off the front pages of the country's newspapers. The story of this lurid incident is well known—her flight from the Consulate, her capture by the Stalinists, and her desperate leap for life. It is unnecessary to repeat it here.

The incident highlights the gangster character of the Kremlin ruling clique, the frightful degeneration of the Soviet Union since the days of its founding in 1917. It indicates how Stalinism provides capitalism with material for blackening genuine socialism by falsely identifying socialism with totalitarian terror.

During the early years of the Russian Revolution, under Lenin and Trotsky, the Soviet Union was a shining beacon for the oppressed and exploited throughout the world. At a time when the Soviet regime was beset by countless enemies inside and outside the country, right in the midst of civil war, the government of Lenin and Trotsky practiced the widest kind of democracy. Because of this, it attracted to its cause not only millions of workers everywhere, but the best of the bourgeois intellectual world, writers, scientists and professional people.

Today, when the Stalinist rulers boast that the Soviet Union is at the peak of its strength and has expanded its influence over half of Europe, the Stalin regime can only rule by the most naked terror against its own subjects, and outrages progressive public opinion everywhere by its arbitrariness, its tyranny, its despotism. This terror of the Stalin regime is not a sign of strength but of woeful weakness. It demonstrates that the regime is unstable and opposed by the majority of its own peoples.

The affair of the Russian school teacher demonstrates, furthermore, that even the more privileged hate and fear the regime. Increasingly common has become the news of Russian nationals right up to ambassadorial rank attempting to escape the clutches of this murderous regime, when presented with the opportunity.

An incident of this type should open the eyes of many misguided militants who still think that Stalin carries on the traditions of Lenin, or who think that the bloody Kremlin clique enjoys the support of the Russian people.

Socialism will again resume its victorious march, and the Soviet Union itself will be regenerated when the workers break with perfidious Stalinism and group themselves around the banner and program which produced the first victorious workers revolution in Russia in 1917. Today that banner is carried by the world Trotskyist movement.

10-01-4



"We're Sticking to the Union" is IWA Theme



11-01-1a



Members of Local 1-317 pack the Arcadian Hall in Vancouver to demonstrate their rejection of Dalskog's attempt to split their ranks. Lloyd Whalen, newly acclaimed provisional president, takes the gavel to voice their determination to "build a bigger and better local" through the International Woodworkers of America (CCL-CIO).

## IWA Routs Stalinists, Way Open to New Gains

By PAUL KANE

Attempts by Stalinists Pritchett and Dalskog to cover up their financial skulduggery and bureaucratic misrule of the B.C. lumberworkers union by wrecking the IWA are meeting with defeats all along the line.

The rejection of their newly formed Woodworkers Industrial Union of Canada by local after local up and down the coast and on the islands, is turning their desperate maneuver into a devastating and crippling blow to the entire Stalinist movement. It is opening up new and promising opportunities for the building of a stronger and more militant lumberworkers' union.

Pro-tem District President Alsbury announced that "more than 90 per cent of the lumberworkers in this province have already decided to remain in the IWA." The more than 10,000 workers in the powerful 1-217 and 1-357 locals in the Vancouver and New Westminster district are solid. Pro-tem First Vice-President Lloyd Whalen's local 1-217 has organized more than 800 new members since the rout of the Stalinist leadership. Only 90 members in the New Westminster local revoked their check-off.

The Canadian Woodworker publishes glowing reports of forces rallying to the WIUC but the WIUC is not yet certified for one single operation. The Victoria Labor Relations Board has heard nothing further from Pritchett's union on the application it placed over two weeks ago for certification of two locals.

### BETRAY UNIONISM

In a frantic attempt to make some headway, the Stalinist-led union is appealing to the most backward and chauvinistic prejudices. Key note in their propaganda is "keep union dues money in Canada." ... a line long advocated by the bosses to separate the weaker Canadian unions from their American brothers.

In their cynical contempt for the workers the Stalinists attack the most basic conceptions of trade unionism. In an attempt to influence the court to throw out an IWA injunction designed to restrain them from disposing of IWA properties, J. S. Burton, WIUC counsel, charged that the IWA is an "illegal organization."

Why is the IWA an illegal organization? Because, the WIUC argued, the IWA international constitution contains clauses which are deemed in restraint of trade under common law. What are the clauses? The IWA has declared itself "in support of the principle of the union shop." The IWA has declared that "members are justified in joining strikes called by a majority vote of the union."

### LONG PLOTTED

The decision of the Pritchett-Dalskog leadership to break from the IWA was placed before a startled Executive Council meeting on October 3 as an accomplished fact. The "Issue" was barring by U.S. immigration authorities of 33 B.C. District delegates from attending the Oregon convention, and the failure of the International leadership to protest the ban. But this was only a smoke screen. Despite

all their protests, the Stalinists had been preparing this union-busting move for a considerable time.

On Sept. 12, Pritchett as chairman of a meeting of the Mission local gave his blessing to a motion to withhold per capita tax payments to the International. On Sept. 29, the B.C. Lumberworker officially called for the suspension of per capita tax payments by all B.C. locals. On Oct. 2 a "selected" shop steward's meeting discussed plans to railroad the disaffiliation motion through the Council and the organization of rump meetings of local unions. Two and a half hours before the motion was even placed before an amazed District Council, a record carrying Pritchett's announcement of the Council's "decision" to disaffiliate was delivered to radio station OKMO.

### REAP THE HARVEST

Pat Conroy, secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO), and The Financial Post, Bay Street's voice, have both advanced the conception that the Stalinist split-away is a move to set up a red trade union center akin to the old Workers Unity League in the early thirties. At that time the Stalinized leadership of the Communist Party, which was still revolutionary, isolated the militants from the mainstream of Canadian labor in a sectarian maneuver.

But the real reason behind the Stalinists' desperation was that all their crimes against the loggers were catching up on them. Their looting of the treasury, their ballot stuffing, their bureaucratic mismanagement of the District, their contempt for the interests of the union ranks on the job, their wartime crimes of supporting the speed-

(Continued on page 3)

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# IWA Routs Stalinists, Way Open to New Gains

(Continued from page 1)

up and piece work, and most recently their campaign to shove down the loggers' throats, a 13 cent settlement on a 35 cent wage demand.

An audit of the 1946 Strike Fund revealed that except for \$1,422.00, expenditures totalling \$108,373.00 for relief, publicity and administration were not substantiated by any supporting evidence.

The 1945-46 statement revealed that Nigel Morgan, one-time international Board Member and now provincial leader of the Stalinist Labor Progressive Party, received two loans from the IWA totalling \$510.43 both "not recovered and written off." Morgan received the second loan long after he had severed official connections with the IWA.

In one last and final attempt to completely wreck the IWA, the Stalinist machine went to work on the assets and treasuries of the locals. Two days before the disaffiliation move the executive of Local 1-71 met to give away \$16,500. They tossed \$9,000 to the Stalinist dominated International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers of America, \$5,000 to the union printer and \$2,500 to an attorney as a retaining fee. They even mortgaged all the furniture of Local 1-217.

The Stalinists hoped that through their Canadian autonomy line, through the power of the machine that they had built up over the years, through the devastation and havoc that they played with IWA affairs before pulling out . . . that out of the confusion they would be able to saw-off sizable chunks of the IWA or at least render it completely impotent.

What put the blocks to their hopes of wrecking the IWA and covering up their crimes? The editors of the B.C. Lumberworker, now the official organ of the IWA, express their amazement at the extent of the consolidation of the loggers around the IWA. "These successes are not only gratifying but, let us be quite frank about it, somewhat surprising." They go on to say that they knew that many were disgusted with the antics of the Dal-

skog-Pritchett group "But we had no idea how large that number was."

The biggest single factor in the rallying of the workers around the IWA was the Rank and File Caucus under the leadership of Lloyd Whalen and Tom Bradley. These forces had been conducting a principled and consistent fight against the Stalinists around a completely anti-boss program for some time, and they stepped into the breach.

But at the same time as the destruction of the bureaucratic Stalinist machine threw open new opportunities for the rise of a leadership that expresses the fundamental interests of the loggers; it has thrown open the door for the red baiters, boss stooges, self seekers and degenerates of all types.

## DANGERS IN SITUATION

The alarm was sounded when at the height of the fight the press reported that the Catholic Church is organizing a trade union caucus. This priest-ridden outfit under the leadership of T. M. Moran, vice-president of the hated B.C. Electric, menaces the trade union movement with a split along religious lines. The struggle has already revealed, on the part of some officials within the IWA, dangerous tendencies to collaborate with the boss loggers in the fight with the WIUC.

The Stalinists are already on the run. Nothing could be more helpful to them, nothing better could possibly be devised to give them a new lease on life, to enable them to rally to their side once again many valuable and wavering elements, than to permit even the shadow of collaboration with the bosses. Red baiting can only make them appear as martyrs instead of criminal betrayers of the workers. The rejection by the IWA of an operator's offer to bar WIUC organizers from the Port MacNeill area is the kind of action that will destroy them.

The newly reformed IWA is in for some big battles with the boss loggers. With a militant and courageous leadership it will lead the Canadian labor movement into new and mighty victories.

# RWP Opens Vancouver Hqtrs Dowson Addresses Coast Meeting

Last month marked another important step forward for the revolutionary vanguard of the Canadian workers. Labor Challenge has opened offices in the city of Vancouver, hub of the Western labor movement. This is the first time that the Canadian Trotskyist movement has had a headquarters outside of Toronto.

The secretary of the Vancouver branch of the Revolutionary Workers Party informs us that the office is located at 61 Cordova Street West, Room 12A.

"We certainly hope that all the Vancouver readers of our paper will drop down to see us at our new headquarters. A complete range of Marxist literature, all the pamphlets and periodicals published by the various sections of the Fourth International are available. We are also building a library of important books that will be available for loan. As a beginning we have arranged to keep the office open every Tuesday night from 7.30 to 9 and every Saturday afternoon from 2 till 5 p.m. Visitors are certainly welcome."

At the same time that the Vancouver comrades informed us of this important event they reported on the public meeting that the branch held for our National Secretary Ross Dowson, who completed a national tour last week. The meeting was highly successful. Reg. Bullock chaired it and Comrade Dowson, linking up the Stalin-Tito rupture and the B.C. lumberworkers' rejection of the Stalinist attempt to split their union, spoke on *The Beginning of The End of Stalinism*.

## VANCOUVER MEETING

The speaker hailed the militants in the IWA who are leading the fight against the Stalinist wreckers. He explained to the audience, which contained several lumberworkers, the origin and nature of Stalinism and how the struggle against it must be waged. He warned against the red-baiters and those elements who think they can fight Stalinism by collaborating with the bosses.

"Pritchett and Dalskog drew the balance sheet of their crimes against the loggers, their financial skullduggery, their bureaucratic misrule of the union and their support of the speed-up and piece work during the war years. Stalin's crimes against the workers are also catching up with him. It is necessary to wipe out this leadership that is contemptuous of the needs and aspirations of the workers, and build a new leadership. This leadership must base itself on an honest program, a program of anti-capitalist struggle, one that truly reflects the needs of the workers. Such a program is to be found in the program of the parties of the Fourth International."

A considerable amount of litera-

ture was sold and four or five interest cards handed in.

Comrade Dowson informed us of the inspiring meeting arranged by the Noakes' of Magna Bay, B.C. The meeting was held in the log school house at Magna Bay under the light of mantel lamps. The audience was a splendid one of poor farmers and loggers from the district. The subject was *The Liberal, Tory and CCF Conventions and the World Congress of the Fourth International*. The reception was excellent and from the discussion that took place it seems certain that a study class is going to be organized in that locality. We sold out what little literature we had on hand.

11-01-2



## Hail Election Campaign Of U.S. Trotskyists ✓

(Statement of National Committee, RWP, to Socialist Workers Party)

The Revolutionary Workers Party hails the inspiring electoral campaign that you, our sister party, the Socialist Workers Party of the United States have just completed.

The votes polled by your presidential candidates, Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, and your many other candidates, are not yet available; but it is not very difficult for us to already evaluate the great significance of your campaign.

It is indeed symbolic that this campaign, the biggest performance that Trotskyism has yet conducted, should take place in North America—in the United States—the very seat of the power of international capitalism. It is Trotskyism that carries the banner of socialist struggle against the Wall Street monopolists at the very time when the oppressed masses of the world are feeling its whip lash as never before.

### YOUR CONTRIBUTION

The workers of Canada whom Wall Street is attempting to drag behind its war chariot; the workers of Germany whose democratic rights are being suppressed by the American occupation forces; the French, Greek, Chinese, Turkish and South American masses whose enemies are sustained by Wall Street power—the workers of the

entire world are indebted to you for your great labors. For it is above all in your struggles, in alliance with those of the world proletariat, that the fate of mankind rests.

### VOICE OF FUTURE

We are anxiously awaiting the vote to learn the verdict of the American workers. For some wisecracks and cynics this will be the sole basis of evaluation of your efforts. But not for us. We Leninists know the value of the idea.

The primary significance of your campaign was that millions of workers for the first time heard the only authentic voice of socialism.

Many of us Canadians joined you American listeners to hear Carlson speak out over the air on a nationwide network, the message of Gen. Debs and how to stop the war preparations. We thrilled to hear Comrade Cannon, your National Secretary, express the solidarity of the American workers with their world brothers in the light of your great revolutionary

(Continued on page 4)

## U.S. Trotskyist Election Campaign Hailed by RWP

(Continued from page 1)

traditions. We heard Dobbs issue your clarion call for the formation of a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

We are confident that thousands upon thousands of workers who are temporarily befuddled by Philip Murray's and William Green's traitorous support of the corrupt anti-working class Truman machine, heard your message; That many misled by Stalinism into supporting the third capitalist party of Henry Wallace, heard your voice; That others came to understand that there is no hope in the Wall Street brand of socialism peddled by Norman Thomas, and in the sterile and sectarian policies advocated by the Socialist Labor Party. And now and in the future course of struggles that they will be thrust into, these workers will come to evaluate and correctly weigh the great Marxist truths that you have proclaimed.

Above all we were inspired by the devotion of your own comrades.

We were with you when you trudged through the highways and byways to collect the long lists of signatures that were required to get on the ballot. We were inspired when, despite all the reactionary regulations designed to prohibit working class parties a place on the ballot, we heard that you won this right in 13 states. We read in your paper *The Militant* of the mass factory gate meetings that your banner bearers addressed and of your defiance and struggle against Washington's attempt to terrorize you by placing your name on its blacklist.

All this only confirms us in our indestructible conviction that your party will rally into its ranks in the coming period the cream of the American working class and is destined to lead the American working class to their socialist victory.

Long live the Socialist Workers Party!

Long live World Trotskyism!

National Committee  
Revolutionary Workers Party of  
Canada.

## U.S. Immigration Bars Ross Dowson

Ross Dowson, National Secretary of the Revolutionary Workers Party was barred from entering the United States when he sought to travel through the U.S. to Ontario on his return from a Western tour.

In an interview released to the press Dowson pointed out that his case, coupled with that of the barring of Fred Dowling of the United Packinghouse Workers (CCL-CIO) and Louis Palermo of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, scotches all claims made by U.S. and Canadian Immigration authorities that the clamping down on the border is directed only against the Stalinists or so-called Communists.

"Why, we Trotskyists were the first anti-Stalinists and are their only real and consistent opponents. The truth is as we have pointed out before—that the border sealing is directed against the entire labor movement, above all against the militants. The anti-labor governments at Ottawa and Washington are conspiring to isolate the Canadian and American labor movements from one another."



FARRELL DOBBS



GRACE CARLSON

A monthly paper bringing the truth about labor's struggle for socialism to the working people of Canada.

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"All the evolution of the past, the thousands of years of human history, of class struggle, of cultural accumulations, are concentrated now in the sole problem of the proletarian revolution. There is no other answer and no other escape."

Leon Trotsky

## Force and Violence

Every capitalist ruling class—including the Bay Street barons in this country—represents itself as the defender of "law and order" and "constitutional means" against working-class organizations, particularly the Marxists, who allegedly "advocate force and violence" and "seek to alter the form of government by unconstitutional means."

This propaganda is designed to conceal the fact that actually the capitalists unhesitatingly resort to the most bloody and illegal means when their rule is seriously challenged by the working class majority, as witness the recent history of Germany, Italy and Spain.

We have a striking reminder of this in an appeal made on Oct. 4 in England by a leading British capitalist, J. Gibson Jarvie, chairman of the United Dominions Trust, Ltd. In a widely-publicized speech, this eminent banker called for nothing less than armed rebellion against the Labor government. This "revolution . . . may be bloodless or it may not," said Jarvie, "but it must come . . . I believe in constitutional methods, but I also believe—and I make this statement deliberately—that when the government is in the hands of reckless and incompetent megalomaniacs there may come a time when the only possible course is to rebel."

Here is the voice of a privileged capitalist minority advocating any means to oust a Labor government elected by an overwhelming popular majority. This is no isolated opinion.

In France today, Gen. Charles de Gaulle—darling of the French and U.S. imperialists—is openly mobilizing armed storm troopers to seize power. A N.Y. Times correspondent cabled from Paris last week that "on de Gaulle's recent tour . . . his (private) police force had jeeps and assorted firearms, including machine guns."

For what purpose? De Gaulle openly stated it on Oct. 1: "Under democracy, power is obtained by an appeal to the people, but if law and order breaks down I reserve the right to take whatever action I regard as advisable."

In other words, capitalists discard democratic methods as easily as they do a worn-out garment and resort to force and violence when it suits their purposes and needs. When the capitalists accuse us Marxists of "advocating" force and violence, they are simply resorting to the "stop thief" cry or the criminal—an old dodge aimed at distracting attention from the guilty party.

11-01-4

## Three Years of UN

On October 24, 1945, the charter of the United Nations was announced to a breathless world. After three years, what have been the achievements of the UN? Its pledges that "we, the peoples of the United Nations" would make a combined effort to stamp out war and to build a better world, have become a mockery in the ears of war-weary humanity.

The present sessions of the UN General Assembly begun Sept. 21 in Paris, are half over. After a debate of six weeks, the Assembly approved the Atomic Control Plan originally sponsored by the United States, which keeps the dread weapon hanging over the entire world. The UN proved again, for all who have ears, that it is only the echo of American imperialism, amplified by Wall Street's array of satellites.

Equally empty are UN deliberations on other burning issues. Its decisions in Palestine have produced only civil war. Its discussions on the Balkans, Korea, the Italian colonies, ignore the rights of the masses. Its discussions on disarmament are a sham.

As far back as last May, its Atomic Energy Commission, after two years of fruitless talk in over 200 meetings, decided to adjourn indefinitely. The Commission on Conventional Armaments, which failed to reach any agreement after 6 months, decided to "discontinue" as of July 16. The Military Staff Committee reported on Aug. 10 that after two years, it too had failed to reach any agreement.

Realistic capitalist politicians attach no importance whatever to the Paris talkshop. Behind the screen of its pious phrases, the real work of American imperialism goes on—the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Defense Pacts, the grim business of preparing World War III.

Only one voice in Canada still prattles hopefully about the discredited UN; the voice of the CCF. The British Columbia CCF News said editorially on Sept. 23, "It has already proved itself to be an agency for peace in that it has provided a round-table for nations to sit and keep talking. . . . Moreover, we declare that there exists no other international agency which has either the actual or potential capacity to preserve the peace."

But contrary to the CCF, there DOES exist "another agency"—the world working class, which alone can wipe out world imperialism and thereby lay the basis for lasting peace.

11-01-5

## Revolutionists' 2-Day Conference Held in Germany

WESTERN GERMANY, Oct. 2.—The first national conference of the International Communists of Germany (IKD) since Hitler took power, was held recently. Delegates from the most important towns of Germany met and discussed for two days the problems of the reorganization of the German section of the Fourth International. This was the most representative gathering of German Trotskyists for many years but even today some of the groups were unable to be represented because of material and other difficulties.

Considerable progress was reported in recruitment and formation of new groups. The Conference voted to establish a center inside Germany, to prepare a concrete platform for the German Trotskyists on the basis of the decisions of the 1948 World Congress of the 4th International.

### BIG STEP FORWARD

The holding of the Conference under present conditions and the decisions taken on the organization of the work, mark not only a victory for the 4th International but are preparations for the next big step forward of the German working class in its struggle against the occupation and for the overthrow of capitalism. Today as never before the conditions are moving in favor of a revolutionary movement of the working class independent of all the occupying powers and speaking in the name of the international struggle of the working class.

Already the German Trotskyists issue a bi-monthly printed review, *Die Internationale* (published abroad) and two mimeographed papers, *Unser Weg* and *Der Marxist*, published in Germany.



S.C.C. ANTONIPILLAI

## Highest Recorded Vote in Madras Cast for BLPI

At the elections to the Madras Municipal Corporation, the third largest local body in India, held on September 30 and October 1, Comrade S. C. C. Antonipillai, member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party was elected by an overwhelming majority to represent Division No. 32 in the City Corporation. Comrade Antonipillai polled over 5,000 of the 7,000 votes cast, the remaining being divided among 5 other candidates. Comrade Antonipillai's vote is the highest recorded vote in the history of the Madras Municipal Corporation.

Six members of the Madras Labor Union were also elected to the Corporation. Being sympathizers of the Trotskyist movement they will work in co-operation with Comrade Antonipillai. These seven will be the only spokesmen for the labor movement in the Council of 80, as the Socialist and Communist Parties did not run any candidates. Comrade Antonipillai is the President of the Madras Labor Union and a member of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress.



# LEFT JABS



NAPANEE, Sept. 9 (CP).— Senator William J. Harmer of Edmonton, 74, Liberal Senator since 1919, died in hospital here today.

The veteran Senator, (was) sometimes referred to as "Silent William from Alberta," because of his infrequent participation in Senate discussions.

During his 29 years in the Senate he was never known to have made a speech.

— Toronto Globe and Mail

Silent William—near 75— is dead—dead dead is he; Even more dead than he was when alive;

Dead as a man can be.

Removed from the Senate at last,

In the tomb.

He'll continue his somnolence,

And he won't find much difference,

One might assume,

In his change of residence.

Or, to turn this statement around

On its head,

If one the depths of his grave

Could glimpse,

One wouldn't notice, now that he's

Dead.

Much difference in him.

But, friend, if you should presume

To think

That his twenty-nine years were

# NOV. 30 IS DEADLINE - ALL OUT NOW TO PUT \$1,500 FUND DRIVE OVER TOP!

By ALLAN GORRIE  
Campaign Director

Since September 15, members and friends of the Revolutionary Workers Party have been busy collecting money, to put the Labor Challenge Campaign Fund of \$1,500 over the top.

In most cities throughout Canada, the Community Chest is also carrying on a drive. Thousands of workers are digging into their pockets to help their less fortunate brothers. In doing so, they have the best intentions to ease the misery and suffering they see around them; but such charity is like attempting to cure pneumonia with an aspirin. Even if administered in the interests of the poor, these handouts would benefit only a handful. Actually, they are administered by boss-controlled outfits, which show their anti-labor character time after time.

Poverty and juvenile delinquency are the by-products of the infamous capitalist system. It is not enough to try to help a few victims of our society; what is needed is to eliminate the cause of these tragedies once and for all. This is the goal that the Revolutionary Workers Party has set itself, and our campaign for \$1,500 is a means to that end.

As the two-and-a-half month campaign enters its last month, \$700.50 or almost 47 per cent of the objective has been turned in. With a little more effort, the fund can be pushed to a very successful conclusion by our deadline, Nov. 30.

Top honors go to our co-thinkers in Saskatchewan who have already achieved over two-and-a-half times their quota. We send special thanks to Jim Seward.

From the West Coast comes more good news. Heading the list there is a \$20 contribution from a comrade on Vancouver Island. Prince Rupert has forwarded \$17—a good part of its objective of \$25, and \$4 has been received from Magna Bay. Britannia Beach has sent no word as yet, but we are confident that they also will make a good showing.

Vancouver is in a better position than the scoreboard indicates. Although only \$80 has been forwarded, we are informed that \$125 has been collected and that the rest of it is on its way. The comrades there have made fine pledges and by the end of the month we should see Vancouver over the top. Despite heavy trade union work, the comrades are visiting friends and sympathizers for contributions.

J.C. of Lloydminster, Alta, has sent in another \$10 as she promised, which together with \$10 from Joe Burki, brings Alberta up to \$30. They are now within striking distance of their quota and we are sure that they will make it without much trouble.

Our high expectations of Windsor were not unfounded. A total of \$95 has already been sent in which brings Windsor up to the 74 per cent mark. The only question which now remains is how far Windsor will go above its quota.

Toronto comrades have been doing a fine job, with 53 per cent of

## SCORE BOARD

	Quota	Raised
Toronto	\$750.00	\$400.00
Vancouver	300.00	80.00
Montreal	150.00	
Windsor	125.00	95.00
B.C. (Outside Vancouver)	70.00	41.00
Alberta	50.00	30.00
Outside	35.00	50
Saskatchewan	20.00	54.00
Total	\$1,500.00	\$700.50

a rather large objective of \$750 collected. A large part of this money has been obtained by visiting friends of Labor Challenge. A wonderful response has been received, and many friends have made pledges which will be collected in the next few weeks. Pledges already total close to the quota and another month of good work may see it over-subscribed.

The picture of the fund drive nationally is good. Most centres have collected a large portion of their goals. A little more effort should see them over the top. Those places which are not in this category will have to get down to work. Time is running short and the next few weeks are decisive.

Let's all put our shoulders to the wheel and really make the campaign a success. Labor Challenge needs the money to fulfill its task of educating the most advanced section of the Canadian workers. Readers are urged to send their contributions to:

LABOR CHALLENGE  
87 King Street W. - Room 5  
Toronto 1, Ontario.

## An Introduction to Marxism

# Machines Do Not Create New Values

By V. GREY

Here is a steel plant worth a hundred million dollars. Thousands of tons of steel are produced each day in this plant. The product is worth hundreds of thousands of dollars.

What is happening to the plant itself as the products come rolling out the gate? What is happening to the plant while the ten thousand workers are producing surplus value for the owners?

Why, the plant is wearing away. Bit by bit, rust, corrosion, decay, wear and tear—all take their toll. You see machinists, millwrights, riggers, pipefitters always repairing and replacing. (In the blast furnace department, for instance, there are over a hundred maintenance men, with only about a hundred and fifty workers actually operating the furnaces.) Every so often a whole furnace is ruined and rebuilt. Shops are torn down or remodeled. Mills grow old fashioned. New ones replace them.

## THE PLANT FEEDERS

Company-owned lake boats bring ten to twenty thousand tons of ore in a load. The weld "leg" unloaders that dip down into the hold like men from Mars, scoop up twenty tons at a grab, and a hopper lifts their load onto a moving belt to the huge pile of ore in the rear. They unload the limestone in the same way.

Behind the "legs," up skyward over these mountains of ore and

lime are the "bridges." These are cranes on straddled stilts 60 feet high, running back and forth to pick up more tons of lime and ore for the waiting trolley cars on the trestle, still further inland, parallel to the ore piles. These cars rumble up and down the trestle day and night—loading and dumping their twenty tons or so every few minutes. Everything clatters, bumps and wears out.

The stock house below the trestle receives the loads of lime, coke and ore into its bins. And still another group of "larry" cars run up and down inside the stock house—getting their smaller loads from the bins above. They stop opposite each furnace and spot their loads above the waiting "skip" cars, which take the stock up to the top of the furnace, five and ten tons at a time.

So before the stock is even put into the blast furnace for its first operation, millions of dollars of machinery handles it, and wears out in the process.

## THE OPEN HEARTH

Then the million and a quarter dollar blast furnace blows, burns and blasts the stock it coughs up the slag and finally pours the molten iron. Huge ladles, each mounted on eight railway car wheels, receive the iron below the furnace floor. Steam and Diesel locomotives pull the live iron to the Open Hearth.

The new steel leaps into the pit behind the Open Hearth Furnace, a huge 80 ton vessel receives it into its battered sides lined with clay and brick. A hundred ton crane overhead picks up this full ladle, and pours the liquid steel into ingot moulds on flat cars.

After all this, the resulting steel ingot, with its iron ore, coke, limestone, carbon, silicon, sulphur and sometimes other things as well is only worth around 80 dollars a ton! And these materials have gone through machines and processes costing millions upon millions of dollars.

## CREATE NOTHING

Instead of saying that machines produce profits by themselves, you might almost say, "How on earth can the company afford to sell steel for 80 dollars a ton when they use up such expensive machinery?"

But there are thousands of tons produced. For each dollar of value worn away in the machinery, a dollar of value reappears in the steel product; and a new value appears above this, which is added by the creative human beings who run the machines.

The corporation enters this in its bookkeeping. The money it takes in which represents the surplus value produced by the workers, it calls "profits" or "dividends" and gives them to the owners. The money it takes in, which represents the value of the worn-away machinery, it lays aside and calls a "sinking fund." If it takes a machine or a furnace ten years to wear out entirely, then the sinking fund must contain one-tenth of the machine's value each year and purchase a new one at the end of ten years.

U.S. Steel, for example, has to produce and sell fifteen million tons of steel a year before they start making a profit. The enormous machinery they have to replace will wear out in a few years whether it produces steel or not.

The machinery and plants of U.S. Steel do not produce any new value. Not only that, if less than fifteen million tons of steel can be produced, these machines and plants are a liability.

(Next issue: "Where Profit Is Made.")

11-016

# 4th International Calls on Workers To Prevent De Gaullist Dictatorship

Only a few years after the fall of Hitler and Mussolini, the shadow of dictatorship hangs anew over the world. In France scarcely has Marshall Petain been overthrown, when General de Gaulle seeks power; in order to restore the same regime of the proscription of the trade unions and the working class parties, abolition of democratic rights and liberties, of violence and terror against the working class, and war against the colonial peoples with redoubled vigour.

A victory of de Gaulle would en-

thus all the reactionary circles throughout the world to cancel the concessions, feeble though they are, which the workers extorted from them at the end of World War II. It would also encourage all who are preparing World War III against the USSR, believing that the working class can no more oppose their adventures.

From where comes this menace of Gaullism for France and the entire world?

The first source lies in the fact that the debilitated capitalism of Europe can no more grant new concessions and new reforms to the toiling masses. What is more, they must set aside the reforms of the past years. It lies in the fact that the utter weakness of the ruling class makes the regime of "democracy," in which the working class defends its conditions of work and life an impermissible luxury. The ruling class must seek a remedy in restoring the regime of the barracks where every protest is penalized sternly.

## BACKED BY WALL STREET

Gaullism finds also considerable support amongst American imperialist circles, who are forced to aid European capitalism and are trying to wage a crusade against the USSR. They are not willing to see their dollars going down the drain. They demand a "strong State," which can tame the workers. But despite the invaluable aid of Wall Street, Gaullism could never have become so much of a menace, if it didn't find a source of strength and audacity from the conditions in the working class movement itself.

The workers of France have demonstrated their admirable fighting qualities. They have written new pages of heroism and glory in their history. Only a few months after the collapse of the general strike of November-December 1947, they have engaged in new battles. The rubber factory workers at Clermont-Ferrand; the Paris metal workers in the very heart of the metropolis; the metallurgical workers of the East and lastly, the miners of all the regions of France—all have held their own against the armed forces of the imperialist State. Its "mobile guards" have been made prisoners, its police has been forcibly stripped of its authority. The bourgeoisie of France was trembling out of fright, wrestling convulsively to withstand the peril of a successful proletarian revolution only thanks to the division within the ranks of the working class and the policies pursued by the leaderships of the Socialist and Communist parties.

## SP BETRAYALS

The leaders of the Socialist Party proved once again to be the most abject servants of the capitalist class. The socialist minister of the Interior, Jules Moch seeks the laurels of Noske. He has withdrawn the platoons of gendarmes assigned to the safety of the aspiring dictator de Gaulle only to despatch them for machinegunning the workers on strike for their living wage. The socialist chiefs brought about the division in the ranks of the trade unions. Numbers of them are preparing to pass over to the Gaullist camp.

Such an exposure of Social Democracy could only facilitate the task of a revolutionary leadership desiring to lead the working class to victory. But the leadership of

the Communist Party of France which is followed by the majority of the workers is not a revolutionary leadership. It is not anxious to overthrow the capitalist regime and to establish a workers and farmers government, thus showing the workers of Europe and of the whole world the path of an all-out struggle for the establishment of socialism—the path of the Socialist United States of Europe and of the World—the only way which can guarantee peace.

## STALINIST ROLE

Instead of leading the battle of the workers along the line of revolutionary struggle for the workers and peasants government, the leadership of the Communist Party, in obedience to the orders of the Kremlin, exploits the enthusiasm and the heroism of the masses to the advantage and the interests of the privileged bureaucracy in the USSR.

Instead of a total struggle, hoped for and desired by the masses of workers, instead of a policy openly orientated towards the proletarian revolution, towards the conquest of power, the Stalinist leadership has been pursuing for many months a policy of rolling strikes, spreading the struggle first to factory after factory, then to industry after industry. Their purpose is to bring pressure upon the bourgeoisie and secure from them a "government of democratic union," that is to say a new formula of class collaboration, suited to the foreign policy of the Kremlin.

But the bourgeoisie, after having resisted the rubber and metallurgical workers, has started a trial of strength against the miners who have been attacked in one coal field after another. The Stalinist tactic of attrition is turning against the working class itself. Such a tactic disorients a large number of workers who feel that their struggle is being used for other ends than the triumph of their wage demands. It is playing the game of the traditional reformist leaders and Christian trade unions, who at the beginning of the struggle did not dare to say one word openly against the strike... such was the unanimous desire of the workers to take the path of struggle.

## THREAT OF DE GAULLE

This tactic, by only causing difficulties without any tangible results, turns a section of the petty bourgeois masses towards Gaullism, which appears to them the only means of restoring order in a situation which is highly anarchic.

Workers of the whole world!

As fifteen years ago the rise of Hitler was a defeat for you all, so the triumph of Gaullism in France at the present hour would be a defeat for the working class and the oppressed peoples all the world over.

Put the situation in France on the agenda in your mass organizations, and assure material and moral aid to your French brothers in struggle. Realize the dangers of the policies of the Socialist and Stalinist leaderships for you and for the French workers. Intervene to put an end to it, and demand a total struggle against the danger of a Gaullist dictatorship, a struggle that you will support by all the means at your disposal.

Workers of France:

Most of you have followed until now the leadership of the Communist Party of France. You must

realize that a great responsibility rests on you. You are before the dilemma; either continue following a leadership which does not clearly state its objectives and which has undermined your fighting spirit since 1936 ("It is necessary to know when to end a strike"—Thorez) and 1944 (disarmament of the workers in the interests of "a single police, a single army and one single government" — Thorez' speech at Ivry) till November-December 1947 and again today, by the refusal of an all-out revolutionary struggle (those who believe in the General Strike are idiots, said Duclos in May, 1947); Or alternatively, follow your own fighting class spirit and, together with the militants of the PCI, French section of the Fourth International, show the workers of the whole world the path of the proletarian revolution and of the construction of socialism.

## IN YOUR HANDS

Don't be dupes any longer of those who at the Kremlin have usurped the flag of the October Revolution and exploit throughout the whole world the struggle of the workers and the colonial peoples.

Do not hesitate. You are not and you will not be isolated. The fury is raging amongst the masses of the whole world, waiting only for a clear signal for an all-out assault on the system of capitalist oppression.

Remain true to your grand historical tradition in giving this signal so long expected.

Against Gaullist Dictatorship!

For the active support of the French workers in struggle!

For the French socialist revolution!

For the world socialist revolution!

Executive Committee of the Fourth International.

**64**

If the number on your wrapper is the same or less than that shown above, your subscription has expired. Please renew at once.

# RWP ENTERS TORONTO ELECTIONS



ROSS DOWSON

## Labor Challenge Drive for \$1500 Goes Over the Top

By ALLAN GORRIE  
Campaign Director

Our campaign to raise \$1,500 to put Labor Challenge on a stable financial basis is over the top. By November the 30th, the official deadline, the friends and sympathizers of the Marxist press had over-subscribed our objective by \$16.90 and we have reports from various centers across the country that there is more to come in yet.

The inspiring response of our many friends and sympathizers to meet this considerable objective, speaks well for the future development of Trotskyism in this country. In the closing hours Vancouver came through to push their total up to the \$250 mark. Our Vancouver comrades received an extra boost from a friend who sent in \$4.50 with his renewal, instructing us to be sure to credit it to the North Vancouver area. Top honors go to Prince Rupert for pushing the B.C. total up to the 93 per

### SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Turned in	%
Toronto	750	817.40	109
Vancouver	300	250.00	83
Montreal	150	125.00	83
Windsor	125	155.00	124
B.C. (Outside Vancouver)	70	65.00	93
Prairies	70	84.00	120
Outside	35	20.50	59
Totals	1,500	1,516.90	101

→ to page 2

12-01-1a

## Runs Ross Dowson for Mayoralty On Fighting Program for Workers

Dec. 4—The Revolutionary Workers Party is in this year's Toronto municipal elections; it is in to win a powerful vote for its program of anti-capitalist struggle and to strike a blow for the socialist future of Canada.

The Toronto branch of the RWP announced to the press today that it will challenge the Tory machine that has dominated Toronto politics for years, for the mayoralty seat.

Its candidate will be Ross Dowson, national secretary of the party, and editor of Labor Challenge. Last year as the party's candidate for mayor, Dowson polled 15,423 votes or 11 per cent of the total vote cast. He ran against the Tory incumbent R. H. Saunders, now chairman of the Ontario Hydro Commission.

Ross Dowson was endorsed last year by the Massey Harris Local of the UAW, biggest local in the Toronto area and by Local 252 of the UAW. Hiram E. McCallum, senior member of the Board of Control for many years and who became Mayor through an undemocratic manoeuvre following Saunders' retirement, is, at the time of writing, the only other candidate.

The party announced its decision to run Dowson as its mayoralty candidate following what appears to be a certainty that the leadership of the organized labor movement, almost 90,000 strong, will not challenge the Tories for the highest

seat in civic office.

Despite the failure of organized labor to put forward a rounded labor slate and turn this election into a broad and inspiring struggle between labor and boss for administrative control of Canada's second largest city, this year's campaign promises to be one of the most important in Toronto's history. Only last June in the provincial elections the OCF swept the Liberal and Tory candidates from the Toronto and area ridings. Top hatted labor hater George Drew, now national leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, met defeat before the powerful swing away from the boss parties. The results of this January 1st election which will decide who shall rule Toronto, the center of the industrial heart of Canada, will no doubt have a powerful influence on the Federal elections slated for next Fall.

To take advantage of the great opportunities that confront it to advance its program to large sections of the population and to make a real contribution to the election of a workers' and farmers' government in Ottawa, the Toronto branch of the RWP is preparing a campaign much more extensive than it has been able to conduct in previous elections.

### EXTENSIVE CAMPAIGN

Appeals for endorsement and support have already been sent out to all the Toronto locals of CCL-CIO and TLC-AFL unions. Tens of thousands of copies of the party's election manifesto are being run off and other election material is in preparation. This year the party's newly acquired public address system will be used extensively. Short and snappy factory gate talks and roving street propaganda is being planned. Finances permitting, Comrade Dowson will put the party's program on the air two or three times.

Labor's candidate for mayor is a worker. Graduating from school in the depths of the depression along with thousands of other Canadian youth, Dowson soon found his place in the unemployed youth movement where he played a prominent role. While only 31 years of age, Ross Dowson has been active

in the labor movement in the Toronto area for 14 years. He is a steelworker by trade and is a former member of the CIO United Steelworkers Acme Screw and Gear local. Dowson is a veteran of World War II.

By 1936 Ross Dowson came to understand that workers must or-

## Help Wanted

The RWP Election Committee needs volunteer workers, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled.

Age, sex, weight, height, immaterial.

QUALIFICATIONS only a desire to help in the struggle for a workers' world.

HOURS OF WORK any time you have available.

NATURE OF WORK folding, typing, distributing election material, talking to your shop mates and voting labor on Jan. 1. Financial help also gratefully accepted.

FOR FURTHER DETAILS report to

RWP Election Headquarters  
87 King St. West, Room 5  
ELgin 9613

ganize as a political force in order to defend and extend their interests. He decided to join the struggle to reorganize our crumbling society on a rational basis and bring that new birth of freedom, peace and prosperity which is socialism.

He joined the Workers Party, organized by Jack MacDonald and a group of militants expelled from the Communist Party for their struggle to uphold the principles of revolutionary socialism from the corrupting and poisonous influence of Stalinism. In 1946 he was elected National Secretary of the Revolutionary Workers Party which is the continuator of the fight begun by the Workers Party. Dowson is well known as one of the party's most prominent speakers and a tireless fighter for the cause of the working class.

Dowson told the press today that: "The most important immediate issues confronting the working people of this city are; the fantastic price rises that continue to mount one upon the other and depress our living standards; the

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cent bracket. In a letter that enclosed a \$20 money order Comrade Angus tells us that "we expect to add at least a like sum after the close of a little project we have up our sleeves here." Magna Bay scored again with a sizeable donation.

Although nothing new has been  
(Continued on page 4)

## Labor Challenge Tops Fund Drive for \$1500

(Continued from Page 1)

heard from the Prairies, it is worth mentioning again that Saskatchewan scored 270 per cent of its objective. Windsor rushed in another \$50 to put that stronghold of unionism well up in front. Montreal had us all worried for a while but apparently for no good reason. They are now only a little short of their quota and the final wind-up may see them go way over. Thanks for a \$20 donation from a good friend in Hamilton.

### GREAT ACHIEVEMENT

Toronto comrades, with half of the national objective to raise, did a real Trotskyist job. Despite more difficult times, the party's many supporters contributed a greater portion of the total amount raised so far, than in any previous campaign. The Toronto campaign director has asked us to announce that A. J. Earley, J. Farrell and J. Turpin won first, second and third prizes and J. Gordon, Monk, A. MacDonald, F. Beasley, J. Pettigrew won the consolation prizes in their fund raising project.

The drive is over now and it has been a highly successful one. Once again the party has under-

taken a task, worked hard and come through with flying colours. It is no mean achievement for the RWP to raise over \$1,500 in these times when we are all having the squeeze put on us by the monopolists. But we have reached our goal and the way is clear for the furthering of the influence of our ideas and the growth of our party.

Vancouver, no longer hampered by the lack of headquarters, will make real strides. Toronto comrades now in the midst of preparations for the municipal elections will dramatically put the RWP in the forefront of the struggle for socialism. From La Verite, our Montreal comrades' French language paper (now mimeographed but soon to be printed) Quebec workers will be learning for the first time of the party which possesses the program that will be their salvation.

All our friends and sympathizers who contributed to this campaign no matter what amount, made an investment, an investment that will pay off in big dividends... an investment in the socialist future of mankind.

## RWP Runs Dowson As Labor Candidate

(Continued from Page 1)

critical housing shortage that condemns thousands to live in cramped and unhealthy quarters and to pay exorbitant rents; and the vicious tax burden borne by the workers and small home owners.

"The monstrous price rises are the direct result of the monopolists' ruthless profiteering. The RWP calls for the immediate formation of Committees on Prices, composed of delegates from the trade unions, co-operatives, housewives organizations, farmers and small shopkeepers organizations. They will demand that the big chain stores, food trusts open their books for inspection. They will take over the control of the fixing of prices. The workers must demand that the present costly and wasteful method of milk distribution be eliminated by the taking over of this industry as a municipal enterprise and placing its control in the hands of the organized workers in the industry.

"At the same time the trade unions must demand that their hard won wage increases have the protection of a sliding scale or escalator clause which ensures automatic wage increases with each rise in the cost of living. As mayor of this city I would propagandize for this gain and would see to it that the city of Toronto set an example by granting the justified demands of its civic employees, reinforced by a sliding scale clause.

"The Toronto City Council, servant of the gluttonous real-estate sharks and construction trusts, has done nothing to remedy the housing situation. Millions are spent on luxury and unessential buildings, nothing on low rent housing.

"If elected to office I would refuse to grant building permits for unessential building until there are plenty of supplies available for low priced homes and low rent housing projects. The RWP would bring pressure to bear on Ottawa for subsidies to finance housing, hospitals, schools and much needed nurseries. We demand that the millions now being spent on instruments of death be utilized to raise the living standards of the people.

"We demand that the graded tax exemption be retained and raised to the \$5,000 mark. We advocate a more sharply graduated scale of property taxation to place the taxation burden on the homes of

the wealthy and their business establishments.

"In order to make themselves more independent of the electorate and less susceptible to their pressure, the City Council, through a plebiscite, is attempting to do away with yearly elections in favour of a two-year term. The RWP is unalterably opposed to the two-year term and calls upon the electorate to reject it. At the same time we demand that all property qualifications which disfranchise tens of thousands of Toronto residents be abolished, including those regulations that at present only permit homeowners to vote on money by-laws. We will fight to win the right to vote for all over 18 years of age.

"Many workers look upon municipal elections as being non-political. This is false. The Tory machine that is in power in Toronto is the power house of the anti-working class Tory provincial apparatus. The Stalinist candidates, Stewart Smith and others, reinforce this false conception in the minds of many workers by their vote catching characterization of the Tory civic officials as merely "bunglers" and "inept men," instead of political representatives of the capitalist class. The CCF leaders aid in this deception by their failure to challenge the boss parties for any of the important posts in civic politics and their tendency to hide the political label of their few candidates.

"Our party believes that the working people must rule in all the organs of government, municipal, provincial and federal. We Trotskyists stand for the establishment of a Workers and Farmers government. We stand for an end to the anarchy of capitalism, with its wars, depressions and anti-labor rule. We stand for the modern socialist system of running industry. Socialism replaces the profit system and thereby eliminates the basic cause of wars, poverty and political reaction.

"You, the workers of Toronto, can inspire and encourage other workers through the country, can play a leading role in bringing this socialist society closer by talking and fighting for the RWP program and by casting your vote for its candidate. Join the struggle for peace and security by building socialism."

### Toronto Workers!

**Hear ROSS DOWSON**  
RWP Candidate for Mayor

**"A Fighting Program for Labor"**

**SUNDAY, DECEMBER 19 and 26**  
**87 King St. West, Room 5, 8 p.m.**

# LABOR CHALLENGE

A monthly paper bringing the truth about labor's struggle for socialism to the working people of Canada.

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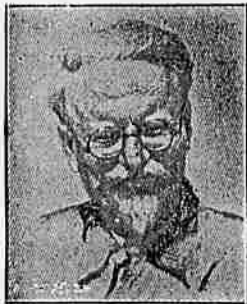
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"It happens quite frequently that individuals lose their fortunes and even their 'honor' when playing cards according to the rules of the game; but classes never consent to lose possessions, power and 'honor' by observing the rules of the game of 'democratic' parliamentarism. They always decide this question in grim earnest, i.e., in accordance with the real co-relation of the material forces, and not the phantom shadows of these forces."

Leon Trotsky

## Attlee and Steel

The decision of the British Labor Government to nationalize the steel industry has come as a surprise to some who predicted that it could not do so without entering the road of the socialist revolution. Yet the bill has been passed, with only minor grumbles of displeasure from British capitalism.

This nationalization and its apparent acceptance by British capitalism can be explained only by the relationship of class forces at home, the chaotic state of the industry and the nature of the nationalizations themselves.

The growing pressure of the left wing drove the Labor leaders far beyond their own desires, as the capitalist *London Observer* explained editorially Oct. 31:—

"Why has the Government persisted in this course? The reason seems to be a most embarrassing one for them—that their decision was compelled by internal pressure in the form of a threat from the Left Wing to split the Party. . . ."

The obsolete condition of the industry was another factor. Between the two wars the steel monopolists waxed fat from their profits but refused to reinvest their profits back into the industry to improve technique and efficiency. Protected from outside competition by high tariffs, they did not worry about modernization. But today British capitalism as a whole has to produce goods cheaply enough to compete with America, Canada and the rest of the world. To do this it must have cheap steel. To meet this No. 1 problem of British capitalism, its Labor lieutenants have taken over the industry and saddled the people with a debt of one billion dollars. The robber barons of steel, richly compensated, now collect their profits in a safer way. They have an income which will give them a greater return than ordinary government stock, and they are freed of the risk of private investment. No wonder they are not too upset about such nationalization.

And the whole rotten structure is to be left intact, the same directors will draw their inflated fees in the same firms. The present organization, management, and working methods of the iron and steel industry will scarcely be touched; the bill is even milder than the coal nationalization measure.

In spite of these limitations of the bill, the workers of Britain rightly support the nationalization. To benefit the workers and not the bosses, however, the nationalization must be changed from its present form and become a wedge to overthrow capitalist ownership. An end must be put to the capitalist controlling board. Management and administra-

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tion must be put into the hands of workers' representatives, and these representatives must be made responsible to the workers who elect them.

Only the active intervention of the workers in every aspect of steel production, can make the nationalization a stepping stone toward the socialist society that the British workers strive to build.

## Let the People Speak

The military and psychological preparations for World War III go on apace. The drive for war on the part of Bay Street is taking constantly more concrete forms. Stockpiling of "essential war materials" is well under way, there is growing talk of conscription, and increasing arrogance toward the masses who still hope for peace.

Modern techniques have largely solved the problem of tanks, guns and planes; Canada is slated to be the prime producer of such equipment. The biggest problem is still to mould into shape their potential cannon fodder, and intense propaganda for this aim never ends.

Canada's top brass is raising the call for compulsory military training. On Nov. 12 General Crerar, wartime commander of the First Canadian Army overseas, called for a large standing army: "We simply cannot afford to wait until a year has passed after the outbreak of war, before our reserve formations are brought up to operational efficiency and before reinforcements become available to replace the inevitable losses from battle and sickness."

But let no one have any illusions that Canada's war makers who admit the terrible cost, will consult the people who must pay for the war in their blood and their sweat. For the Bay Street and St. James Street monopolists, the question has already been decided. Their sinister determination to over-ride all opposition was expressed most blatantly by their top servant, Prime Minister St. Laurent. Canada will go to war, he said,

"Even if 11,999,999 Canadians out of 12 million favored a policy of neutrality."

And this is the real nature of capitalist democracy. On the greatest issue of all, the masses are to have not a word to say!

That St. Laurent should dare to so brazenly give the people such an ultimatum, underlines the speed of the war-drive. It is an immediate necessity to rally the masses around the slogan advocated by the Revolutionary Workers Party and Labor Challenge:

*Halt the war drive! Take the war-making powers out of the hands of the capitalist class! Let the people vote by national referendum on the question of war or peace!*

## An Open Letter

## To Former Leaders of Quebec LPP

An open letter from Quebec Trotskyists to La Ligue pour la paix et la démocratie (League for Peace and Democracy).  
Comrades:

One year ago we reported in the columns of Labor Challenge the break of your group from the Stalinist Labor Progressive Party following the Quebec provincial convention of the LPP in October 1947. At the present time, we have before us two mimeographed bulletins entitled Contributions Nos. 1 and 2 and a mimeographed leaflet with the headline National Defense? The leaflet dated October 25 states it is published by the League for Peace and Democracy and bears the names of H. Gagnon, E. Dube and J. Piche.

Again through the columns of Labor Challenge, by means of this open letter we would like to take up with you a few important political questions raised by your publications. Of course, it goes without saying that in the brief space of this letter we will not be able to discuss all the points you have raised.

## YOUR EXPERIENCE

The first issue of Contribution proved the correctness of our previous characterization of your group as a left-wing tendency coming from Stalinism. The detailed account of your expulsion gives a good picture of the inner workings of the LPP. It will be added to the mountains of evidence already in existence in every country proving the completely bureaucratic character of the Stalinist parties.

You state that the condition for your re-acceptance into the LPP was your approval of the false resolution directed against your group by the bureaucrats. This you quite correctly refused to do as a matter of principle. But this type of political blackmail is the rule in the Stalinist movement. The case of Tito is probably the most recent and the best known to you. Those who "confess" never succeed in

reforming the Stalinist party but perish politically like all the various oppositionists who "confessed" in the Soviet Union since 1927.

The second issue of Contribution was devoted to a criticism of LPP election policy in last summer's provincial election. It developed your previous criticism of the LPP's opportunism in the trade union movement on to the question of opportunism in the field of parliamentary activity. It also clearly revealed that you understand that the LPP has a false policy on the vital national question in Quebec. But this is not simply a mistake of the Canadian Stalinist leaders. Togliatti demands that the former colonies of Mussolini be returned to Italian imperial rule. In the name of the French Stalinist party, Thorez supports the French Empire under the hypocritical label of "Free French Union." Like all the Stalinist parties, having left the road of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, the LPP has fallen into the swamp of capitulation to the bourgeois rulers on the national question also.

You criticize LPP leader Gui Caron for his unprincipled election statement to the Petit Journal that the "LPP would permit the teaching of religion in the schools." You are correct in your criticism here but surely you are aware of the equally servile and treacherous policy of the Italian Stalinist party. It was the votes of their deputies that assured the passage of the Lateran Treaty by the Italian parliament. Under this law part of the taxes wrung from the starving Italian workers and peasants goes to directly subsidize the Roman Catholic church as the official state church.

Your experiences in the LPP have proven to you that it is a

bureaucratic party. Since your expulsion you have begun to find out that your former party lacks a Marxist revolutionary program. These are important steps forward in the education of your group for action in the developing class struggle in French Canada. But you cannot stop there, you must go on to probe these questions to the bottom. In this task not only a study of the basic works of Lenin and Marx but also the writings of Trotsky and the programmatic documents of the Fourth International will be invaluable to you.

A Marxist analysis will lead you to the conclusion that the conditions you have found in the LPP are only a reflection of the conditions that exist in all the Stalinist parties including the Russian. The policies which you label opportunism flow from the counter-revolutionary role of the Kremlin clique. Basing itself on the reaction which followed the proletarian defeats immediately after the first imperialist world war the Stalin gang usurped power in the Soviet Union. Originating the anti-internationalist theory of "socialism in one country" they converted the former revolutionary Third International into a counter-revolutionary force whose sole task is to preserve the rule of the Russian bureaucracy.

## NEW INTERNATIONAL NEEDED

After ten years of struggle to reform the Russian party and the international first from within and later from without, Trotsky and his followers became convinced, particularly after the German defeat of 1933, that the task was impossible and a new revolutionary international was on the order of the day. Because if Lenin taught the workers anything he taught them that without a revolutionary vanguard party the overthrow of capitalism is impossible. Thus arose the Fourth International which not only preserved the program of

Marxism but is on the way to transform itself into the mass party of the world proletariat. Its record since its formation and particularly during the second imperialist world war is a guarantee that it will lead the workers to victory over the capitalists, their social democratic allies and the reactionary Kremlin despots.

The Fourth International is the only organization carrying on a revolutionary struggle against war. Your leaflet is a good expose of the capitalist slogan of national defense. Like all conscious workers you recognize that the war danger is the burning question of the hour and you want to strike out against this danger.

## PACIFIST TRAP

But because of the name you give your organization we would caution you against falling into the trap of pacifism, the policy now pursued by the Stalinist parties which has nothing in common with the revolutionary struggle against war. The fight against war is not the task of special leagues or congresses (we do not mean of course that it is not necessary to build broad mass anti-war movements) but it is one of the central tasks of the revolutionary party. For the only real struggle against war, which is merely the continuation of capitalist politics by other means, is the struggle against capitalism.

What is needed is not a league for peace and democracy (does that mean the status quo of capitalist peace and capitalist democracy?) but a mass proletarian party for social revolution.

We are willing to grant you that the building of a mass Marxist party is not an easy task nor can it be realized in a few short months. But the first step is to recognize its necessity and to prepare the cadres for it. As Trotskyists we offer you our collaboration in this task.



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## INTERNATIONAL COMMENT

The revolt of the army clique headed by General Odría against the Bustamante government of Peru is another act in the drama being played by the ultra-reactionary actors of that country.

The military revolt, though its exclusive purpose was to protect the privileged parasites and tighten their rule has its tragic-comic aspect: It was directed against the government of Bustamante, which likewise represents the same class forces as the now victorious military clique. The differences between the two were rather of a tactical nature of how best to maintain the rule of the capitalist-landowning classes.

According to a United Press dispatch, published in La Prensa of New York, one of the reasons for the break between the Brass Hats and the deposed government was the fact that Bustamante had refused to sign the death penalty that the military courts meted out to the leaders of the popular revolt led by the Apra.

The military clique wants to rule by the naked sword. This is clear not only from the composition of the new provisional government, composed exclusively of military men, but in the statements of General Odría. The General declared that "Peru will be rebuilt on a new basis." "Political parties," we are further informed, "poison the hearts of the people and sicken their minds." No wonder that the first act of his "provisional government" consisted in outlawing the Apra and the Communist Party. Here is a clear demonstration of how this military despot intends to run things—by an open dictatorship. The existence of even such a mild reformist pro-capitalist party as the Apra is not going to be tolerated.

This was one of the main aims of the military revolt against the Bustamante government, which by doing the dirty work in suppressing the Apra made possible the rise of the military clique to power without any parliamentary ceremonies.

What the ultra-reactionary feudalists and capitalists want is a "strong government" with a "strong man" capable of suppressing every manifestation of opposition. The ex-Bustamante government, though basically devoted to the same purposes, didn't precisely fit into this particular pattern.

But the imposition of this military dictatorship does not constitute the last word in the political life of Peru. It is rather a temporary episode, for the new regime is not in a position to solve any of the deep-going difficulties. The

crisis is not only deep but organic in the whole semi-colonial structure of Peru. As a result, the popular masses will be compelled, now as before, in the struggle for existence, to come into open conflict with the ruling group. The phenomenal growth of the Apra was, although in distorted form, a manifestation of this need.

Furthermore, a new political leadership is being forged by the Peruvian section of the Fourth International, as can be seen in the first issue of its theoretical organ, Cuadernos Marxistas. The Peruvian Trotskyist movement is only about two years old, but has a lot of political vitality. Our salute to them and their extraordinary sacrifices in their struggle for a better Peru!

★ ★ ★

A crisis over "Trotskyism" has shaken the Albanian Stalinist party. The 11th plenary session of the Central Committee convened from Sept. 13 to 24 "on the subject of the situation created in the party as a result of the Trotskyist influence in the leadership of the Yugoslav CP."

The committee unanimously passed a resolution presented by E. Hodja condemning the "Trotskyist deviations" of the party since November 1944 and the leaders responsible for these "deviations," Koci Xoxe (Organizational Secretary) and Pandi Kriste (member of the Political Bureau).

They were accused of having "worked knowingly to apply the Yugoslav Trotskyist line in our party. They have not yet made a healthy self-criticism of these faults."

Xoxe and Kriste were expelled. Both are reported to have gone into hiding. Others on the carpet purged themselves of their alleged "Trotskyist" sins.

The "deviations" began no less than four years ago, according to the resolution: "The 8th plenary meeting of the CC in February 1944 was prepared on the basis of a platform that was anti-Marxist, anti-Soviet and against our country and party on the part of the Trotskyist leadership of Yugoslavia. The decisions of that meeting have seriously upset and gravely affected the unity of our party, its leadership and its general secretary, Comrade Enver Hodja."

★ ★ ★

Sinpo, a Chinese daily in Batavia, reports that Dr. Muwardi, leader of the People's Revolution Movement, a "Trotskyist tendency," was found assassinated at Sounnakarta after being kidnapped by Stalinists.